ANIMA MUNDI:

OR, AN

Historical Narration

OF THE

Opinions of the *ANCIENTS*

Concerning

MANS SOUL

After this LIFE;

According to Unenlightened Nature.

Douce CC. 83.

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By *CHARLES BLOUNT*, Gent.

Qui Jovem principem volunt, fallentur nomine, sed de unâ potestate consentiunt. Min. Fel.

London, Printed in the Year, 1679.

TO THE
READER.

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READER.

METhinks I already behold some haughty Pedant, strutting and looking down from himself as from the Devils Mountain upon the Universe, where amongst several other inferiour Objects, he happens at last to cast his eye upon this Treatise, whereafter a quick look or two upon the Title, he falls foul upon the Author it self, damning it by the Name of an Atheistical, Heretical Pamphlet: And to glorifie his own Zeal, under the pretence of being a Champion for Truth, summons Ignorance and Malice for his Seconds: But such a person understands not wherein the Nature of Atheism consists, how conversant soever he may otherwise be in the Practice of it. It were Atheism to say, there is no God; and so it were (though less directly) to deny his Providence, or restrain it to some particulars, and exclude it in reference to others. Such are Atheists, who

maintain such Opinions as these; And so are these Hereticks, who erre in Fundamentals, and continue obstinately in such errors. But the ignorant Vulgar People (whose Superstition is grounded upon the assimulating God with themselves) are apt to think that every one they Hate, are God Almighty's Enemies; and that whosoever differs from them in Opinion, (tho' in never so trivial a matter) are Atheists, or Hereticks at least: Not rightly considering the words of St. Peter, *That in every Nation, he who feareth the Lord and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with him. And* Minucius Felix *says well to the same purpose, He is the best Christian, who makes the Honestest Man. Heresie is an act of the Will, rather than Understanding; a Lye, rather than a Mistake: And thus St.* Austin *expresses it, saying,* Errare possum, Hereticus esse nolo. *Heresie and Schism, (says the Ingenious Mr.* Hales) *as commonly now used, are two Theological Scare-Crows, with which they who uphold a Party in Religion, used to fright away such as making an enquiry into it, are ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious. For as* Plutarch *reports of a Painter, who having unskilfully painted a Cock, drave away all the Cocks and Hens he could find, that so the imperfection of his own Art might not appear, by comparing it with*

Nature

Nature: So Men for some ends, not willing to admit of any fancy but their own, endeavour to hinder all Enquiries by way of Comparison, that so their own deformity may not appear. Therefore if any Man blames me for comparing Christianity with Paganism, it shews nothing but his unworthy Distrust of the Sufficiency of that Religion he professes.

There are two sorts of Judges unto whom all Writers are obnoxious, viz. The Ignorant, and the Judicious. As for the Ignorant, they are such Men as I before was speaking of, whose Approbation I dread nothing more. Similis simile gaudet, is a Maxim that holds true as well in all other things, as Physick: and there is nothing would make me have so ill an Opinion of my self, as to hear one of them commend me. But the other Judge, viz. the Man of Learning and Judgment, is the He I fear, and before him only will I arraign my self. Non-age is the general Plea for the First-fruits of Young Men, but that I disown; for he that thinks himself old enough to write a Book, can hardly excuse the folly that is in it, by calling himself Child: Nor have I ever seen a Piece that was written by one of 16 years of Age, which was fitting for one of 17 to read; such Writings being commonly like Poems that were made by Men when they were half Drunk, unintelligible to any persons but

such as are in the same condition. Therefore waving all such frivolous excuses, I shall first disclose those things which are most liable to censure, and then clear my self as well as I am able.

Perhaps there may be these three Exceptions taken against this Treatise, viz. *my numerous Quotations, or Latine Sentences, my rambling from my Subject, and my uneloquent Stile.*

First then, as for my many Quotations, whether in Latine *or* English, *the Nature of the Discourse requires it. Were it a bare Moral Essay, wherein I made use of none but my own Fancy, there to come in with a* dixit autem Dominus, *or other such scraps of* Latine, *were to render my self ridiculous: But this being a Discourse of other Mens Opinions, they would be thought my own, tho' father'd upon the Ancient Heathens, did I not cite my Authorities from the Authors themselves; so that I am enforced to play the Pedant even in my own defence. And yet notwithstanding, I have had some Enemies, who were so disingenuous, as to cast that Reproach upon me when they saw this Discourse but in Embryo: So ridiculous as well as uncharitable, were their Censures. A Man that with diligent search and care should collect together the Statues or Pictures of divers eminent Persons, and expose them in some publick place to the view of*

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all Spectators, would not thereby procure to himself the repute of a good Painter or Statuary; and yet certainly this Act of his were laudable, and in some measure obliging. But it would render him most immodestly arrogant, if among the Pourtraictures of those Eminent Men, he should erect his own. Now this would be my case, if while I present you with the Conceptions of great Philosophers concerning the Infinite Being, I should vent any part of my own inconsiderable Fancy among theirs: Wherefore expect it not, for I neither have Fancy nor Ability sufficient to erect an Opinion of my own; but acknowledge my self totally subdued under the commands of that Government, whereto Providence hath assign'd my Life. Besides, in this Tract is comprehended a Relation of various Sects contradictory the one to the other, so as I cannot be said to hold them all: Neither (as I know of) have I any where shew'd my self the least partial; but if one had stronger Arguments to justifie their Opinion than the other, blame not me who deliver them but recitativè, *and am, as it were, their* Amanuensis, *without ever concerning my self with the intrinsick value of their Doctrines.*

As to the second Exception, that charges me with rambling from my Subject, if this be an errour, it is an errour on the right hand, wherein I am but better than my word. Con-

ſtancy is not ſo abſolutely neceſſary in Authors, as in Husbands. And for my own part, when I have my Pen in my Hand, and Subject in my Head, I look upon my ſelf as mounted my Horſe to ride a Journey, wherein altho' I deſign to reach ſuch a Town by Night, yet will I not deny my ſelf the ſatisfaction of going a Mile or two out of the way, to gratifie my Senſes with ſome new and diverting Proſpect. He that always keeps at Home, and never goes ſo far as to the end of his own Pariſh, only once a Year in Proceſſion, may be call'd a Good Husband, but God deliver me from ſuch a Companion. I confeſs I cannot but both love Men and Books of a Rambling Fancy, for even their very Extravagancies are diverting: Now he that is of this Humour, will be ſure to give me his Voice. However, in this I have honour to imitate (tho' imperfectly) the great Montaigne, whoſe Umbrage is ſufficient to protect me againſt any one Age of Criticks.

Now for the third and laſt Exception, againſt my Stile; I was never ſo well accompliſh'd as to ſtudy the Jingling and Cadences of words, the happy Expreſſions, the more ſoft or harſh toned Syllables how to place them right; nor had I ever the modeſtneſs to ſearch in the Looking-glaſs which words gave the moſt graceful motion to the Lips: No, I confeſs my only endeavour is to write and ſpeak ſo as to be underſtood;

derstood; and as for Rhetorick, I leave that to those who delight more in the study of Words, than Nature of things. Rarely have I seen Orations full of Fancy, for Orators bring matter to words, and not words to matter; besides the Gravity of Philosophy would as ill become fine Language, as the Philosopher himself fine Cloaths.

These are the main Exceptions which I conceive may be urged against me: But if I have omitted any other, it proceeds from the abhorrence I have to read over that thing twice, which I my self have written. This Piece I am sensible cannot be altogether exempt from the evil Censures of some disaffected and interested persons; as for instance, the Fanaticks and others who pleaded a Call from God to do the Work of the Devil, cutting off their Sovereign's Head, and are herein exploded for it: also all manner of Hypocrites, who counterfeiting the true Religion, are as much Traytors to Heaven, as those who counterfeiting Coyns, venting false Metal for true, are Traytors to the King. By such persons as these I expect to be condemned; but the Ingenious Reader (if impartial) will not esteem it less worthy, for its Sufferings under their Judgments: Since by the same Reason, he must also raise an outcry against the most sacred part of Philosophy, because Socrates suffered under it. There is

nothing so virtuous or pious, which a contrary Faction will not decry: As on the other side, there is nothing so mean or base, which has not from some Interested Persons received Adoration: even an Ape it self has not wanted Ægyptian Syllogisms to back him, so long as thousands lived by extolling him. Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum. *Great is* Diana *of the* Ephesians. *But not to persecute you with too long a* Scotch *Grace, before so short a Meal, pardon your coarse Entertainment, and you are welcome.*

Vale.

A

Anima

Anima Mundi:

OR, AN

Historical Narration

OF THE

Heathens Opinions of Man's SOUL after this Life.

I.

AS the lustre of an Oriental Diamond is more clearly perceived, when compared with counterfeit Stones; so Christianity appears in its greatest Glory and Splendor, when compared with the obscurity of Paganism: the Deformity of the one, serving but as a foyl to the Beauty of the other. Nor doth the Di-

Divinity of our Scriptures ever better appear, than when compared with the Follies of the *Talmud*, the *Alcharon*, or the Constitutions of Heathen Law-givers; which is an infallible sign of their Excellency, that they so well bear the Test of comparison. Now, upon these Considerations, *Arnobius*, *Minucius*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and other Ancient Fathers of the first Centuries, undertook to vindicate their Religion to the Heathens; which is also the design of this Treatise. And if any one resents it otherwise, his want of Charity betrays his Irreligion, and shews him to be none of the best Christian, who thus whips the Fathers upon my back. Some Men there are whose Fancies, like weak Stomachs, turn the most wholsome Food into Corruption; and these are the Enemies I expect. In this Discourse I undertake only to declare the absurd and monstrous Doctrines of the Heathenish Superstition concerning this subject, as far as may shew the blind Conjectures which meer Nature presented to their Philosophers, yet not to all of them, but to those only which have been the most considerable. And here I have not omitted to produce the most powerful Arguments, which they made use of to justifie their

their Vanities: Partly, as unwilling to fight against a Shadow; and partly, as knowing our Religion scorns to have them betray'd by a weak and disinginuous representation of either their Lives or Doctrins, Christianity being of it self able to foyl them, even in the richest dress.

I I.

To begin then with the Original of their Superstition; It did certainly proceed from some crafty discerning person, who having observed what is most dear to Mankind, thought by pretending himself able to assist in the preservation of that one particular, (whether he were so or no) he might thereby procure an esteem and credit in the World: which having once obtained, it would not be difficult under the pretence of other peoples good, to advance his own. Thus observing that in this World the Body is every mans chief Favourite, a wise *Hippocrates* comes and pretends to know what will conduce to its health: being assured that Mankind, that sets so high a value upon life and ease, would be largely bountiful to him who should be able to prolong and preserve either;

either; and from hence arises the Physician. In the same manner the Law-giver observing a notion of some future Being implanted in every mans heart, pretended to have some extraordinary way revealed to him from an invisible Power, whereby he was able to instruct the People how to make that future estate happy, if they would but persue his directions: and the better to countenance such a Revelation, they have absented themselves from the World sometime before they divulged it. Thus *Minos* having for twelve years led a retired life in a Cave, at last came forth, and pretended to have spent all that time in conversing with *Jove*, whose Son he feigned himself to be; and also that he had received from his mouth those Laws which he divulged to the People. Also *Numa Pompilius*, after he had for some time concealed himself in a Wood, appeared in publick, and prescribed those Laws to the *Romans*, which he pretended to have been delivered him by the Nymph *Egeria*. A like stratagem was made use of by *Pythagoras*, who after two years retirement in a Den, feigned himself to be risen from the dead, preaching up Rewards and Punishments

Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor.

to

to the great terrour of the People, who in another Life, very much confided in his Doctrine, because he had told them of all things which had happended amongst them during the time of absence: A thing very ealie for him to do, after he had been informed of the same from his Mother and Wife. Also *Zamolxis* (whom *Laertius* and *Herodotus* call, *Pythagoras his Disciple*, though *Suidas* and others oppose it) delivered those Laws to the *Scythians*, which he pretended to have received in a certain Cave, where he had been conversing with the Gods. Nor did *Epimenides* get himself less reputation, by his pretence of having slept fifty years. And last of all, *Mahomet* having in the same manner retired himself into the Mountains of *Arabia*, did there by the assistance of *Sergius* and two *Jews*, compose that fabulous Law which he after divulged unto the World, as coming from the Angel *Gabriel*, with whom he pretended himself very familiar. And thus we see with what Arts each Law-giver endeavoured to establish their Laws among men, thinking thereby to purchase that immortal Fame, which their Ambitions so much desired: For as one of the Ancients well observed, *Autori coli, diligi majus im-*

perio est. But oh the Impiety of these Heathens, who fathered all their Follies upon their Gods! not considering that whosoever speaketh in the name of the Gods intituleth them to whatsoever he publisheth, and consequently if his Doctrine be false, (as that of theirs must needs be, by reason of the absurdities found therein) intituleth the Deities to false Doctrines.

III.

The next thing I shall insist upon, is their impious Opinions concerning the Deity; which deserve the same reproof that a late ingenious and noble Writer gave a ridgid *Prædestinarian*, affirming that God delighted in the death of mankind; *Speak worse of the Devil if you can*: For there was hardly any thing so mean or base, as was not by some of them revered for a Deity; nor any Vice so great, but some of their Gods were guilty of it. Wherefore *Origin* speaking of the *Ægyptians*, says thus to *Celsus*: *When you approach their Sacred places, ye shall meet with stately Groves, Chapels and Temples with magnificient Gates; also with variety of mysterious Ceremonies: but when once you are entred*

entred and gon within their Temples, ye shall behold nothing but a Cat, or an Ape, a Crocodile, Goat, or Dog, whereto they pay the most solemn veneration. But of this I shall treat more at large in my discourse concerning Sacrifices, and therefore now will return to that Subject which the Title of my Book promises to treat of.

IV.

In the first place, to discover the foundation of their Opinion concerning the Soul, it was this, *Jovis omnia plena*; and of the World, *Mens agitat molem*: They held God to be all in all, to be Infinite, and therefore but One; *Septa.* thinking that if there could be found any real thing, (though but an Atom) which were no part of God, or any place wherein God were not, then they could not esteem him to be Infinite, and every where present, but thence excluded, and consequently limited; upon which account they denied a *Vacuum*. Hence also they did not conceive the World (as some now do) to be a

a great Body by it self, set a-
Euripides. part from the Infinite God, but
Horat. to be signified under that name, whose Being was in part visible and exposed to our senses, and partly invisible as in its Spirituality, not perceptible by our gross corporeal Organs, otherwise than in its outward effects and productions: and that therefore
Rom. 1. 19, 20. no more of the invisible things of God was known unto them, than what seemed of clear inference from the visible: that in plain meaning, the Spiritual part of the World was not by them discovered, further than was evidenced by its acting on the Corporeal part, whereof though in the common form of speaking, when they said *God*, they meant only the Spirit of God; and when they said *World*, they meant grosly the material Globe: Yet the more knowing sort of Heathens did by the *World* mean all corporeal Beings, both above and below, not allowing plurality of Worlds, but only one infinite Body, governed by the Divine Spirit, acting all in all. *Spiritus intus alit.* So as when they mentioned *Gods* in the plural number, they meant only divers faculties, which their Soul of the World

(*viz.*

(viz. God) had infused into several Creatures peculiar to them. Hence they called every particular a *Microcosm*, or Little World, in some sort the Progeny, or imperfect Copy of the Universe, as consisting of Body and Spirit; some more perfect, as Man, and all animated Creatures; others less, as Plants, Minerals and Stones: according as several mixt their bodily Temperaments were prepared to receive a more or less pure degree of the *Anima Mundi*: not allowing more Souls than one, altho men gave them divers names, according to the various kinds of Creatures so animated. And this some held too spiritual, to be any more defiled by any diseased, nasty or wicked Body, wherein it dwelt, than the Sun-beams by shining into a Dungeon or Pest-house.

IV.

Now this Doctrine of the Soul seemed but ill to provide for Justice, either in this life or in another, however they allowed it Immortality in general, but undertook not for its disposal in any peculiar way; only that it lives here as long as it hath vigour enough in it self to draw

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and digeſt to its own ſupport, fit and ſufficient Nutriment out of the great World. But when its Organs are either enfeebled, or by ſome accident diſordered, that it can no longer prey on the great World, than that preys upon it, and at death receives back its Body and Spirit into it ſelf: by which alternative Emanation of the Univerſe into particulars, and their Reſtitution into the Univerſe, (without any annihilation) the World (ſay they) enjoys a perpetual rejuveneſcency. They did by daily experience ſee *compoſita diſſolvi*, and in their diſſolution nothing periſhit but that which was made up of the conjunction of thoſe parts. As when by death the Body and Soul were parted, the man they thought was gone, but the Spirit remained in its Original, and the Body in its Earth from whence it came: and they when wrought again by Nature ſeparately into new mixtures, entred into a new ſtate of Being, which they ſuppoſed no way concerned or related unto the former, as we may ſee by the lines of the Poet:

Et si jam nostro sentit de corpore, post-
quam Lucret.
Distracta est animi natura animæque lib. 3.
potestas
Nil tamen hoc ad nos, coitu qui, conjugioque
Corporis atque animæ consistimus uniter apti.
Nec, si materiam nostram collegerit ætas
Post obitum, rursumque redegerit, ut sita nunc
est:
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vitæ:
Pertineat quicquam tamen ad nos id quoque
factum,
Interrupta semel cum sit retinentia nostri.
Et nunc nil ad nos de nobis attinet, ante
Qui fuimus, &c.

But only thought themselves assured, and held for an eternal verity, that there never was, nor could be in Nature any Annihilation: however gross people when things disappeared, considered not that they were dissolved into their first Principles, but supposed them turned into Nothing: whereas if nature did admit of any Annihilation, the World, says *Ocellus Lucanus*, had long ago vanished. *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Averroes*, and others make the World eternal, and void of all corruption: for not being able to comprehend

hend whether the Egg or the Bird were first generated, since no Bird could be without an Egg, nor Egg without a Bird, therefore they conceived that the World, and the beginning of every begotten thing, together with the end thereof, must be by perpetual revolution sempiternal. So that this not admitting of any Annihilation, caused their opinion of the Worlds Eternity. And the Stoicks who believed a final Conflagration, did not believe any Annihilation, any more then of a faggot, when it was burnt: but that there should be a new Heaven and a new Earth, or rather that the Almighty Wisdom would produce some new Fabrick unconceivable by us, who are not able to conceive any thing whereof we have no experience.

Euripides, as the Translator renders him.

Genitum nihil emoritur,
Sed transpositum ultro citroque,
Formam priorem alterat.

For say they, as Nature cannot create by making something out of nothing, so neither can it annihilate by turning something into nothing: From whence (says Dr. *Hackwell*) it follows by consequence, that as there is no access, so

Hackwell's Apol. lib. 1. cap. 4.

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can there be no deminution in the Universe, no more than in the Alphabet, by the infinite combination and transposition of Letters, or in the Wax by the alteration of the Seal stamped upon it. *Ocellus Lucanus* upon this subject writes, That if any should conceive the World to have been made, he would not be able to find into what it is corrupted and dissolved, since that out of which it was made, was before the Universe, as that into which it shall be corrupted, will be after the Universe.

As for those things which are contained in the World, they have communion with the World; but the World hath communion with nothing else besides it self: for all other things have not such a nature as is sufficient of it self, but stand in need of communion with other things; as living Creatures need respiration, the Eyelight, and the other Senses, their several objects: Plants need the juice of the Earth, for their growth: Nay the Sun, Moon, Planets, and fixed Stars, require a certain portion of the Universe; only the Universe stands in need of no other thing but it self. Now as Fire which is able to give heat to other things, is of it self

Ocell. Lucan. lib. 1.

ſelf hot; ſo that which is the cauſe of ſafety and perfection to other things, muſt of it ſelf be ſafe and perfect. Again, if the Univerſe be diſſolved, it muſt be diſſolved into ſomthing, or nothing: not into ſomething, for the Univerſe would not then be totally corrupted, for ſomething muſt be the whole Univerſe, or a part of it; nor will it be annihilated, for (ſays *Ocellus*) it is impoſſible that ſomething ſhould be made of nothing, or reduced into nothing. Dr. *Hackwell* hath well obſerved, that no Prophets ever foretold the end of the World would enſue till many years after their own deaths, being ſure not to be proved Lyers: according to the Epigram,

Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis? ut non
Ante obitum mendax arguerere? ſapis.
Owen upon *Napier*.

For they who propheſie the Worlds deſtruction, are upon ſure grounds, *viz.* that till it comes to paſs, it may be expected. *Joſephus* ſpeaking of the *Greeks* and other Nations, affirms, that every State and Kingdom have reported him that was the firſt Founder of them, to be the firſt of the World: each Nation reckoning their Antiquity

tiquity but from ſome great change which happened among them. And thus we are to underſtand the Original of the *Greek* Hiſtory from *Inachus* the *Argive*; not that he was the Original thereof, as ſome make him; but becauſe a moſt memorable alteration did then happen, ſome were ſo ignorant as to make that conſtruction thereof. For my own part, I who believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, do in this point, as in all others, reſign up my poor Judgment to that ſacred Oracle; but if I did not *Joſephus* his Arguments would prove altogether uneffectual unto me. For after he hath in his diſcourſe againſt *Appion*, ſpent many lines in magifying his Countrymen the *Jews*, that they were the firſt Inhabitants of the Earth; He at the laſt does in a manner confeſs, that he dares not nevertheleſs compare the Monuments of the *Jews*, with thoſe of the *Ægyptians*, *Chaldees* and *Phœnicians*, who dwell in ſuch Countries as were not ſo ſubject to the corruption of the Air, and have carefully preſerved the Records of their Cnuntrey. Which is as if he had ſaid, that for as much as no other Nations but the *Ægyptians*, *Chal-*

Joſeph. cont. Apion.

dees and *Phœnicians*, have certain Records of their Originals, therefore I will not with them contend for Antiquity, but only with such as have no Records to shew. Also in the same Treatise *Josephus* makes use of *Manethon*, when it is for his Advantage, and to justifie the *Jews* Antiquity, but in other matters that are to his Disadvantage he rejects his Authority. But to return to the Heathen Opinion of the Soul.

VI.

The most plausible Arguments they had to justifie their wicked Opinion of the Soul's Mortality, or unrewarded condition, proceeded from their Contemplation of Man, whose Body when he Dyes, they plainly saw was by putrefaction mingled with the Body of the World, from whence it was: And by the same reason they were so credulous as to believe his Soul mingled with the Soul of the World, from whence that was. Their Priests also agreeing herewith, (though in another form of words) taught, That in Death the Soul went to God who gave it, and the Body to the Earth of which it was com-

compoſed: Therefore as when the Sun-beams ſhine into a dark Room, and enlighten it, you may eaſily exclude it from ſhining into the room, but can never intercept or cut thoſe Beams off from their original, the Sun: The like relation they conceiv'd the Soul of Man had to the Soul of the World, whereto it ever hath an inſeparable conjunction: The ſame alſo they held to be in all other Creatures, according to their ſeveral degrees of animation from one and the ſame general Spirit, and that by reaſon of its Spirituality ſuch paſſage could be no more hindred, than the Walls of a Caſtle can hinder you from thinking what is within.

VII.

Ebencora an *Arabian* Philoſopher, obſerving that Nature makes no ſudden tranſition from one extreme to another, and ever by ſome preparative degrees fitting them to be inveſted into one another: ſo he willing to advance the Soul into a more Cœleſtial Condition, pretends that when it leaves the groſs Carnal Body, it firſt mixes with ſome more ſubtil Body, (perhaps the Air) and ſo by being more and more refined, receives a

gradual Capacity of a Cœlestial Condition; not considering that the Spirit, when it is in any thing, is much more spiritual than Air. But *Hippocrates* went further on this, who living in a Republick, and so perhaps having his Philosophy infected with their kind of Government, gives the Soul of all things a kind of reciprocal preferment and Recidivation, by Rarefaction and condensation of its Corporeal Nature. For he observing the dissolution of gross Bodies to be wrought by Fermentation intrinsick, which looses and ratifies them; as also that they are compacted by Condensation, whereby the Soul becomes wrought again into another gross Body, and that the Spiritual doth ever Act and govern the Corporeal: He (I say) from these Operations conceiv'd a kind of Alternative Reign in Nature, saying after his obscure manner, *Lux Jovi Tenebræ Plutoni. Lux Plutoni Tenebræ Jovi*: Which much agrees with the *London-Virtuosi* in Sir *Hugh Plat*'s time, who writes, That they held no Original Difference of Things, but Thick and Thin, not discerning that τὸ θεῖον, *Divinum aliquid*, or Spiritual Nature, which *Hippocrates* observ'd to be in all Things.

VIII.

VIII.

Many old Philosophers of great Eminency, especially the *Platonists* in their Airy Discourses of Humane Souls, built in favour of their own, placed them in an higher form than those of ordinary Persons, and other Animals: Pretending that by frequent Philosophical Meditation, they so far refined themselves, as that after Death they remain'd in a kind of Astral, or (as termed by later Times) Angelical Condition. As if bare thinking could cause any real effect in a Subject with whom all its Thoughts vanish. But those of the Volgar, especially if Vicious, they also acknowledged to be Immortal, however to remain more endless, Grieving, for the loss of that beautiful fruition, according as they had led on Earth a Life more or less Vicious.

Which Opinion (meer Nature, and unenlightned Reason being judge) can't acquit itself of many Errours: First, That it did not explain themselves, how they could be capable of a confin'd Locality; nor where, nor in what Subjects those Souls should remain, when

they left their Bodies. Moreover, all their Operations here seeming to be Organical, they wondered how Men could be supposed to see, when their Eyes are gone; or to Grieve, Rejoyce, or Think, when the Brain, the *medium* of thinking is turn'd to Dirt. Further, They grosly asserted, That those Departed Souls could have no knowledge of particulars, for that they are not discernable, but by our Bodily Senses, which represent them unto us; but they pretended their Knowledge to be only of Universals, whereas there are no such things really in Nature, they being only meer aggregate Terms, devised by our selves for conveniency of Discourse, to save the labour of enumerating Particulars. As when we say, *Mankind is Mortal*, that in effect signifies no more, but that *John* such-a-one, *Thomas*, *Robert*, *Peter*, *&c.* one by one, each particular Man Living is Mortal: But for as much as we cannot nominate all those Particulars, were constrained to include them in one term, *Mankind*: Whereas if every particular Man, Woman and Child were Dead, there would be no such thing as Mankind left, no not

so

so much as notionally imaginated, because there would not then remain one Man Alive to conceive such a Notion.

IX.

Others of later times, not taking the truly wise advice of St. *Paul*, to *beware of vain Philosophy*, have adventur'd to uphold the knowledge of Humane Souls after Death, not by Faith and the Scriptures, whose sacred Authority were the most proper support of that Belief, but out of the presumption of their own sufficiency, by the meer light of Natural Reason; and because this appears not easily intelligible, they endeavour to illustrate it by terms to Nature as unintelligible, telling us of the separate Souls intuitive knowledge, and that without help of the imaginative part, which is acknowledg'd to perish with the Brain, its seat and Organ. But Divinity is too sublime a thing to be tryed by the Test of our imperfect Reason; for that were to try God by Man, and in these matters may it justly be call'd Folly before God. 'Tis usually observ'd, That those who vent Doctrines which

they are not able to evince, muffle them in obscure terms, as one may call a kind of Canting, like *Aristotle's Entelecheia*, which no Body understood but himself. Thus this form of Intuitive Knowledge, without the help of Senses or Imagination, is utterly inconceivable to us, who in knowing make use of both. There is nothing that more betrays the Souls infirmity, than Thought; as when in one minute a Man can think of the Northern and Southern parts of the World, and in one moment run over many thousand Leagues both of Sea and Land. But the chief Argument this point of their Philosophy relys upon, is a reflex knowledge which we have in perceiving our selves to know. And this they will have to be done without help from the imaginative Representation; wherefore they say the Soul may know, although that part be lost. But if we confidently mark this inward perception of our knowledge, it may perhaps be nothing but the inward experience, which our imaginative faculty gives us of what we know, and doth no more evince any [s]parable faculty of the Soul, (as *Lucretius* observes) than the reflex and intrinsick perception

of

of smart, which a Man's Foot gives him in a Fit of the Gout.

X.

Now the Ancients thinking the Spirit of the World to be universally diffus'd through all things, not only Animals, but such as we call Inanimates, consider'd it so as that the various actings thereof, might not be unfitly compar'd to the Musick of a pair of Organs, where all the Wind comes from the Bellows, which being distributed into several Pipes, makes Musick so long as it remains in them, but so soon as it is passed through the Pipes, the Wind of each Pipe mixes with that of the others again, and then the Musick ceases: Thus they foolishly conceived to be infused into all Creatures, each of their Spirits from that of the World, and so to act according to the various Temperaments of those several Bodies, which they possess as long as they remain therein; but immediately when they pass through them, they mingle again promiscuously with one another into the Spirit of the World,

from

from which they were sent, and thus their former Ways of Acting ceased.

Others there were that look'd upon the Soul to be to the Body, as we see Gunpowder is to the Gun, (if I may fitly illustrate in an Ancient Opinion, by a Modern Comparison) and that a Body without a Soul, is but a piece of Ordnance uncharg'd, useless to the Operation Nature assign'd it. Therefore when Men run Mad through overmuch Wit, Knowledge, or Learning, they may not improperly be said to be over-charg'd: As on the contrary, the reason why Men *vasto corpore* are generally more heavy, dull and half-witted, may proceed from their being under-charged. As we see the same quantity of Powder which gives a Report in a Pistol, gives little or none in a Cannon, the disproportion of the Gun diversifying the Effects.

XI.

Some of the Ancient Philosophers having a vain Ambition of getting Eternal Fame, by raising some particular Sect of Philosophy, which might generally take amongst Men, set up for one of these Ways: Either to please the Voluptuous, who care for nothing but Delighting their Senses without any further regard, Or by pretending to Futurity and Eternity to make a more Glorious Noise, and thereby thought to prevail more powerfully and universally, as over-awing the Timorous, and alluring the Ambitious. In which way they adapted eternal Terrors to Evil Doers, and everlasting Glory to the Virtuous. This they not improbably hoped would make their Sect to be admitted and cherish'd by Princes, as commodious to Government. Also this latter sort to compass their end, were necessitated to wrest their Doctrines of the Soul so far from meer Illuminate Nature, as one of the Ancients said, They deliver'd things more like Dreams, or Old Wives Tales, than Truths: And at length Posterity following their Ancestors like

Car-

Carriers Horſes in a Track, without ſeeking out any new or better way, they receiv'd ſuch Frenzies from one another, and improved them with ſuch Doctrines of their own, as ſurpaſs'd all Poetick Fictions, and inſtead of taking with the Vulgar, grew ridiculous. For in truth they needed as much and as weak credulity, as ever any vulgar Superſtition did: But were not ſo craftily fitted to draw Vulgar Capacities to Honeſty, or terrifie them from Vice, as other Superſtitions were. Their news of ſeparate Souls in Celeſtial Joys, or Infernal Agonies, *Saxt. Empir.* *Enumerus*, the Atheiſt ſays moſt impiouſly, were as hard to prove as the *Elyſian* Fields, *Acheron* or *Styx*, or *Pluto* with his Infernal Guard. All this would do little or no good upon the prophane Rabble, for they would ſay within themſelves, if this be all, we will not for ſuch Metaphyſicks forbear any manner of pleaſure or profit, how baſe ſoever. On the other ſide, ſhould you hear *Mahomet* alluring the People, That if they would lead a Pious, Religious and Obedient Life in this World, they ſhould hereafter live for ever in moſt pleaſant Gardens, with variety of delitious Fruits, Beautiful Women, and high Affections,

with

with abilities renewed eternally; but if they led an irreligious life, and were disobedient unto his Doctrine, they should hereafter be delivered up to horrid Devils, who would for ever torment them in a lake of material Fire and Brimstone in this Doctrine, when once by education, and the solemnity of publick Authority, implanted and upheld in the minds of men, proves far more prevalent with them, than the sublime notions of *Plato*, how well grounded soever and as to an exact proof before natural reason, clear and not prepossessed, perhaps *Plato* would not have much the odds of *Mahomet*; *'Nihil est infelicius homine cui sua figmenta dominantur.*

XIII.

Many good Moral men, and some of the Fathers, as *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, &c. held the Soul to be *ex Traduce* from Father to Son, and that for these reasons: First, If every man hath a new Soul infused into him at his birth by God, and not lineally descended to him from *Adam* to Eve, how then can they be

be guilty of, or suffer for Original sin? 2. What means that place *Exodus* 1. 5. where 'tis said, *All the Souls that came from the loins of Jacob, were seventy Souls?* Also another place, *Gen.* 46. 26, 27. to the same purpose. 3. If the Soul be not *ex Traduce*, then Man the most perfect of all Creatures, were worse than a Beast, who begets both matter and form. 4. Every like doth not then beget his like, and error in Philosophy it self. 5. All that have seed in themselves, do not propogate their kind. 6. Gods Command, *viz. Gen.* 1. to the Creatures to increase and multiply, would be useless and of none effect. 7. God would infuse a Soul to be punished here and hereafter for anothers sin, *viz. Adams.* 8. God seems to concur to the act of Fornication, or Adultry, in that he furnishes their unlawful Issue with a Soul; and if a Man lye with a Beast, and beget a Monster half a Man and half a Beast, God will be thought to infuse a Soul into that unnatural conception, and it is a *Quere* what will become of that Soul hereafter? 9. If the Soul be infused, nothing is begotten; for the Body can't generate *per se*, any more than one House can of it self beget another; both the Body and the

the House being of themselves but dirt, Generation is not without the Soul. Lastly, Man begets not whole Man, for he consists of Body and Soul joyntly. These absurdies they inferred from that opinion of Gods infusing the Soul immediately into every man at his first Creation. This opinion of the Souls being *ex Traduce* (like the Body) from the Parents, is illustrated by the *simile* of lighting one Candle by another; and that according to Holy Writ, God first lighted *Adam*, from whom Posterity received their light, without diminishing one another thereby, any more than one Torch is diminished by lighting another. In a Candle if you observe it closely, you may plainly perceive how the flame, as it melts and draws in the Tallow into little bubbles, turns them into flame, which shines for a while, till its uppermost part having spent its oyly moisture, vanishes into Smoak and Air, the flame still renewing not in identity, but by successive renovation. In resemblance whereof, some thought the Soul out of the bodily Nutriment to make the Chyle, and turning that into Blood, out of that to make the animal Spirits, and of them the

diffusive Soul, which in an humane temperature seemed refined to a greater purity, than in the grosser constitutions of other Animals; likewise in them more than in Plants, to greater or lesser perfection or duration, according to the different Temperaments more or less perpared to recieve it: and they that held this Opinion, laid down for an infallible maxim, that *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur admodum recipientis*; and from hence say (they) it comes to pass, that some men are more ingenious, others more stupid. But generally they held, that men were more clearly rational, whilst other Animals are stupid and dull, yet all from one and the same original Spirit, varying only according to its different fuel. Just as Lamps, some shine brighter and some more dim, according as their Oyl or wick is better or worse. From hence (say they) it proceeds, that we often see as much difference between Men and Men, as there is between Men and Beasts, only as stupidity is most prevalent in Brutes, so is frenzy in men. Nor did the Heathens perceive any considerable difference betwixt us and other Creatures, than what is occasioned by

speach

ſpeach and uſe of Letters, whereof they being ignorant, could only think of objects, noiſes, and what they felt, heard or ſaw, but could hold no mental diſcourſes, as Men did who had the uſe of Letters. Let us hear what *Mountaigne* ſays on this ſubject. That defect which hindreth communication between them and us, why may it not be in us, as well as in them? for we underſtand them no more than they do us; by the ſame reaſon therefore may they deſpiſe our ignorance, as well as we theirs: And we may as well think the *Chineſes* Beaſts, becauſe we do not underſtand them. When I am playing with my Cat, (ſays he) who knows whether ſhe hath more ſport in dallying with me, or I in playing with her? we entertain one another with mutual Apiſh tricks, and if I have my hour to begin, or to refuſe, ſo hath ſhe hers. As we hunt after the tamer ſort of Beaſts, ſo do the wilder hunt after us; and therefore as Sheep or Oxen are made for Men, ſo (if you will credit *Mountaigne*) are Men after a ſort made for Lions, Bears, Wolves, Tigers; The weakeſt for the ſtrongeſt. Such as keep or entertain Beaſts, (as he goes

Mount. Eſſ. lib. 2. c. 12.

goes on) may rather be called their Servants, than they theirs. *Democritus* was of the opinion, that Men have learnt most of their Arts from dumb Creatures; as that the Spider taught us to weave, the Swallow to build, the Nightingale to sing, and divers Beasts the Art of Physick. St. *Austin* in his dispute with the *Manichees*, seems to give Beasts the use of Reason. *Campanella* gives them some senses which we want: What (says he) makes the Cock to discover midnight and morning, as it appears he doth by his crowings? what teaches a Hen, before she hath had any experience, to fear an Hawk, and not a Goose, or Peacock, far greater Birds? what makes the young Chickens more afraid of a Cat, than a Dog? and to strut and arm themselves more against the mewing of the one, than the barking of the other? what instructs the Wasps, Emmets and Mice, to chuse the best Fruit and Cheese, without having tasted them before? and what teaches the Dog when he is sick, to flee to the Grass, and the Stag, Elephant and Serpent to certain Herbs, when they are wounded, for cure? how many ways speak we to Dogs, and they understand us? what dif-

discipline may we learn from the Bees? what prudence from the Ants, in laying up provision before-hand? or from the Swallows, who at the approach of Spring search up and down, and pry about the corners of the Houses, not without judgment and discretion, and from a thousand places select that which is most convenient for them to build with? and in that pretty, cunning contexture of their Houses, would Birds chuse rather a round than a square form, did they not know the conveniency of it? what makes them take first Clay, and then Water, unless they guessed the moisture of the one, would mollifie the hardness of the other? would they floor their Apartments with Moss, did they not know, how much more soft and warm it would be for themselves and young ones? what makes them shelter themselves from stormy weather, building their Cabbins toward the East, but that they know some winds are more healthful than others? why doth the Spider spin her artificial Web thicker in one place than in another, using sometimes one, sometimes another knot, had she not an excellent contrivance? Let us now consider Man, who as *Mountaign*

rage saith) is the only out-cast and forsaken Creature, naked on the bare Earth, having nothing to cover and arm himself withal, but the spoil of others; whereas Nature her self hath cloathed and fortified all other Creatures with skins, hair, wooll, stings, horns, scales, feathers, talons, Claws, hoofs, teeth, &c. instructing them in every thing requisite for their own preservation, as to swim, run, creep, fly, &c. but Man alone can neither feed, speak, nor shift for himself, unless taught by others.

Tum porrò, puer ut sævis projectus ab undis
Navita, nudus humi jacet infans, indigus omni.
Vitali auxilio, cùm primùm in luminis oras
Nixibus exalvo matris Natura profudit,
Vagitusque locum lugubri complet, ut æquum est
Cui tantum in vita restat transire malorum.
At varie crescunt pecudes, armenta, feræque.
Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuiquam adhibenda est

Alma

Almæ nutricis blanda, atque infracta loquela:
Nec varias quærunt vestes pro tempore cœli.
Denique non armis opus est, non mœnibus altis
Queis sua tuentur, quando omnibus omnia large
Tellus ipsa parit, Naturaque Dædala rerum.

Lucret. l. 5. p. 222.

Some Authors are of an opinion, that Man is nothing but an Ape cultivated; others think, that as he is superiour to Brutes in some things, so is he inferiour in other. By the Law sin first came into the World, saith the Holy Scripture; wherefore if Man be the only Creature that hath knowledge of God, then (say they) he is the only Creature that sins against that God whom he knows: what Brute doth a worse thing than Man, when he goes into Foreign Wars, and for four pence or six pence a day murders men that never did him wrong? Birds quarrel with one another either for meat, or females; and Men for Superstitions, or for somewhat that doth not at all concern them; and

and now which is the most rational Dispute? St. *Jerom* forgetting that it is said, *Not a Sparrow falls to the Ground without God's Knowledge*, doth in his Exposition upon *Habakkuk* seem to limit God's Providence, and make it not to extend to Beasts, but only unto Men: Also *Cicero* writes to the same purpose, *Magni Dii curant parva negligunt.* But this was only to Complement the Great Ones: For as St. *Austin* says, *Deus est maximus in minimis*: And as the excellency of the light appears in discerning the smallest Object; so did he think the beauty of Providence most appear'd in governing regularly the smallest Atom. But to return to our Subject.

De Nat. Deorum, lib. 1. c. 3.

XIII.

Mens Natural Passions and Fears, when not enlightned by judicious and calm consideration, nor represſed by a sober Temper of Mind, did ever so tyrannize over them, that some (as now with us) dare not lie alone, or go in the dark, for fear of Spirits; but this Timorousness was more Venial in the ignorant Heathens, than

than in us, who believe that Man bears the image of the Almighty; for what can be more absurd, than to think that the Devil when he pleases to make sport, can invest himself in the same shape with the Almighty's Favourite? But however, such Reports have given some Men an opportunity of shewing the power of their Zeal, to lay those Spirits which never were raised. The good Dæmon of *Socrates* was no other than his extraordinary Prudence and Wisdom, which ever dictated to him in all his Undertakings, both what to do, and what to avoid; nor did this good *Genius* fail him, save in the choice of his Wife *Zantippe*, at which time, if Matches were made in Heaven, he had certainly no Friends there. 'Tis thought there is a *deceptio visus*, wherewith Timorous People are possess'd, that oft-times make them believe they see things, which they do not: And he that believes there are such things, hath half seen them, and wants only *Brutus* his Waking Dream, to see such another Apparition, who instead of seeing what he is reported to have seen in a Dream, did only dream that he saw it, which very much differ.

The

The ingenious Dr. *Brown* is zealous for Apparitions and in a Reply to this shrewd Objection, That the Devil only appears to silly weak People, he says, That the Devil will not appear to the wicked, for fear of Converting them: But if this Argument holds, he must never appear to any, for certainly his appearing can never advance his Kingdom, but rather the contrary. However, that God can raise up such things, no Man I think will question, but that he doth, so often as Men report, no Man is obliged to believe. Nor shall I be so Dogmatical as to assert the contrary, since there is an aerial Creation, and for ought we know every place is full of Invisible Spirits, which like the Wind are unseen, yet visible in their Effects and Operations. This Opinion of Spirits hath ever been received in the World, as we may learn from all Histories both Ancient and Modern and therefore I shall not be so positive in my Assertion as to give all Antiquity the lye. When I read of a Sceleton that appear'd in Chains to *Athenodorus* the Philosopher; and the fame of *Cleonice*, that tormented *Pausanias* (who had slain her) as long as he

he lived, as also the Ghost of *Agrippina* did her Son *Nero*. *Alexander ab Alexandro* tells *lib.* 5. *cap.* 23. us of several Houses in *Rome*, that were uninhabited on this occasion; But particularly one of his own, wherein both himself and his daring Companion, were severely frighted by an Apparition. Also *Cardan* (whom *Causabon* stiles, *Homo ventosi ingenii*) was for this very reason called *Mendacissimus*. He (though incredulous enough in other things) yet here seems too easie, for he not only believ'd such Apparitions, but affected to tell strange things concerning them: Which made his great Friend *Nodæus*, (who extoll'd him in other things) to decry him in this. *Suetonius* also tells of a Spirit, that appear'd in *Cæsar*'s Camp, just before his passing the *Rubicon*, and in the form of an Handsome Young Man, snatching a Trumpet out of the hands of one of the Trumpeters, therewith threw himself into the River, and swam over, sounding a March all the while: (Although Men may question, whether this were not a Stratagem us'd by *Cæsar* to encourage his Men to proceed, the supposed Spirit being perhaps only a

Young Man that could Swim well, and found a Trumpet.) Therefore I shall not too confidently oppose a Doctrine, which hath been so long entertain'd in the World. But in all these matters it is good to be neither too Sceptical, so as to need burning before we are convinc'd that the fire is hot, nor too credulous, as those who see nothing but what is invisible, and believe nothing but what is incredible.

XLIV.

Again, others whose *Idea's* were more chearful and vigorous, did frequently cast away their Lives, in hopes of being wrapt above the Skies, as the *Negroes* of *Guiney* use to do, who upon any dislike of their Condition, (thinking their Being no longer to be preserv'd than it is a Well-being,) do often make away themselves, in hopes to go Dance with their Deceased Friends beyond the Mountains. The prodigious power of such Waking Dreams, have produc'd such horrid effects in Minds dark and susceptible of them, especially when they represent the *Idea's* of

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Terrour. As at this time we frequently ſee poor Old ſilly Women confeſs, and really imagine that they have converſ'd with evil Spirits, in the ſhape of black Dogs, or have flown in the Air, and ſo have ſuffer'd for Witches, when perhaps *Bedlam* had been much fitter for them. Nor is a Man that is incredulous in the point of Witches, without ſome reaſon on his ſide. The ingenious *Bergerac* in his Satyrs ſaith thus: I have never heard any ſtory of Witches, but it was ſaid to be acted above an hundred Miles from the place it was told me; the laying the Scene at which diſtance, made me ſuſpect the Relators aim'd to render it impoſſible for the curious to inform themſelves of the truth; alſo that they were in the ſhapes of Cats, found in the midſt of a Field. Without many Witneſſes: the Teſtimony of one Perſon alone ought to be ſuſpected in things miraculous: Near a Village; it was eaſier to cozen the Clowns: 'Twas a poor Old Woman; Neceſſity might make her lie, to get Money: She was old; Age weakens Reaſon, and makes Talk too much; or elſe ſhe hath invented this Fable to entertain her Neighbours withal: Age decays the Sight; ſhe took a Hare for a

Cat

Cat: Age makes fearful: ſhe thought ſhe had ſeen fifty for one. And 'tis much more probable, that any one of theſe things may happen, which are every day ſeen, than ſuch an extraordinary accident. Again, the party thought to be a Witch, being ſome ignorant old Country-woman, hath not wit to diſintangle her ſelf from the intricate Queſtions which are put to her, whoſe underſtanding is ſo ſtupified with the imminent danger, that ſhe is rendred uncapable of making any pertinent anſwer to juſtifie her ſelf; which if ſhe doth, men conclude the Devil ſpeaks in her; if ſhe ſaith nothing, they believe ſhe is convinced by a guilty Conſcience, and ſo ſhe is preſently condemned: Or for the better evidence whether ſhe be a Witch or no, they caſt her into the Water, where if ſhe ſinks ſhe is drowned; and if ſhe ſwims, ſhe is convicted for a Witch. But would the Devil be ſuch a Fool? He that could at another time give her the form of a Cat, can he not now give her the form of a Fly to eſcape in? No, ſay they, Witches looſes their power when they are in the hands of Juſtice: But this is ill contrived, for it is not the way to encourage others to ſerve

serve the Devil, for him thus to abandon his Servants in time of need, the old Serpent should be wiser than so. Besides, it may be observed, that all these reputed Conjurers and Witches are generally beggarly and poor; Therefore is it probable that any persons should expose themselves, upon the hope to continue poor and odious, to misery both in this World, and that which is to come? How can it be admitted with reverence to the Divine Nature, that Prophecy should cease and Witches so abound, as seems by their frequent excursions; which would make one think, the strongest facination is incircled within the ignorance of the Judges, malice of the Witnesses, or the stupidity of the poor parties accused. These are the things which are urged against this Opinion. *Montaign.*

XV.

Others have in haste to their imaginary Joys in another life, neglected or destroyed this. Several of *Heresia*'s Auditors have been found, and others have

upon reading *Plato*'s Book of Immortality kill'd themselves, and so made more haste than good speed to enjoy those Pleasures. *Proh, mira stultitia & incredibilis audacia! spernunt tormenta præsentia, dum incerta metuunt & futura, & dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent, ita illis pavor & fallax spes solatio redivivo blandiur.* Whereby it appears, that in things which Nature hath not made our Reason capable of foreseeing, (as is the Souls future Estate) their strong belief is not alway a sign of Truth: for in some cases who so bold as blind Bayard? There never was any Sect so sottish and false, but may boast of its Martyrs. Let this be understood of corrupt, unenlightened Nature, that we may not confound Christianity with Paganism. Many good men have died to justifie, what *Vanimus* died madly to oppose; so contrary are mens perswasions. Some of the *Egyptians* died fighting for the Deity of Garlick, others for the Deity of Onions; so that a mistaken Martyrdom rather betrayes the rashness of the Party, than the truth of his Cause. For to believe otherwise, were to do too great an

honour

honour to those Atheists or Hereticks, who have suffered for their Irreligion under the Laws of Christianity. The Apostles suffered for the truth of what they saw with their own eyes, whereas many of the Heathens did but like Knights of the Post, affirm the verity of things they knew not, only had received by a Traditional hear-say from others, whose vain Opinion of their great knowledge filled them with pride, as being the only men which knew the secrets of Heaven: like *Æsop*'s Conjurer, they pretended to know all things which were done in Heaven and Earth, but was ignorant that his own House was on fire at home.

XVI.

The two primitive Essentials which constitute all compounded things, were by the Antient *Greeks* termed *Psyche* and *Hyle*, that is, *Spirit* and *Matter*, Soul and Body. Both these they held, as considered in the single Natures, to be from all Eternity, and to continue to Eternity, which together united in one infinite, they held to be

God, whom they believed to be Maker of the World. Not by operation from without, as a Cook makes a Pye of several materials, which he hath gathered together, and being no part of him, can after it is made subsist without him: but by inoperation rather, resembling the Soul in a living Creature, which by its intrinsick, plastick vertue, forms the Animal with all its faculties and parts both internal and external, not being able to subsist without that Spirit which did first animate and inform it: however performed with no less trouble and concern to the *Anima Mundi*, than the hairs of our heads are to us: and to this inoperation of the Divine Nature *Virgil* alludes, saying,

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

This,

This, I say, was an opinion generally received among the Heathens, only the wiser sort (so reputed) asserted, that God made all things of nothing but Himself, whom they acknowledge to be Infinite, and therefore could not imagine that there were any other real things besides him: supposing that if there were, then God must have been but one eminent thing among many others; which to speak or think, might be esteemed as great and sutable a blasphemy in Philosophy, as Religion: And to this purpose *Lucan* speaks,

Jupiter est quodcunque vides, &c.——

Also *Ovid*,

Præsentemque refert quælibet herba Deum.

But the absurdity of this Opinion is already by several ingenious Pens made known unto the World: As,

The Answer to Mr. *Hobbs* Creed p. 12, 13.

1. If every thing be God, or a portion of God, some parts of the Deity must perceive what others do not.

2. Several parts of the Deity (as Stones, Metals, &c.) must be void of understanding.

3. Idolatry were no crime, but only an amicable officiousness in one part of the Deity toward another. To which purpose *Athenagoras* writes, saying, If God and Matter be the same thing under various appellations, then were it no less than Impiety in us, to deny Divine honour to Stones, Trees or Metals.

Lastly, there would be no such thing as Virtue or Vice, Pain or Pleasure, unless you will make God to commit the one, and suffer the other.

XVII.

Now they who held this vain Opinion, termed every Creature (especially Man, who is esteemed the most excellent of all others) a *Microcosm*, or little World, as compoſed of *Psyche* and *Hyle*. Also *Moses* hath been thought to intimate as much, in saying, That in the beginning of the Creation, the Spirit moved upon the Waters; for so the *Rabbins* and *Cabbalists* expound him. They say it was the

the *Ruah Elohim*, *viz.* The Spirit of God, which moved upon the Waters. *Hippocrates* seems likewise to agree with this Doctrine, asserting the beginning of Sublunary things to proceed from Fire and Water: But *Moses*, who was skilled in all the *Aegyptian* Learning, alludes perhaps to their *Hieroglyphicks*, wherein the figure of an *unit*, signified *God*; as a *Cypher*, stood for a *Non-entity*, *i. e.* for Nothing; the character of *Ten*, did signifie the *World*: and in the old *Hebrew* Characters, as in our modern Figures, of a different shape, the figure of an *unit* placed before a Cypher, signified *Ten*, by which was meant the *World*, as I said: and hereby they expressed that God made the World of nothing. And perhaps in further Conformity herewith, he is said to make Man more excellent than other Creatures, after his own Image; that is, not in outward Effigies, or Features of face and limbs, but as the Universe composed of Spirit and Body. And so they held the World to be consisting of a Being partly comporeral and visible, and partly Spiritual and visible: the visible or material part, by reason of its more or less gross and solid corporeity, is of it self more or less unfit for motion, but pro-

properly capable to receive the impulses of the more active spiritual part: And thus in the little World of Man, as long as his Spirit remains in him, it quickens his gross Body, carrying it up and down from the remotest parts of the Earth, contriving many projects, and working great things; however in a moment after that Spirit is gone, the Body is left a dull putried piece of Earth, and all his Thoughts perish.

XVIII.

But here give me leave to *Montagnize*, and so far to digress from my subject, as to acquaint you with a great dispute, which happened among the Ancients concerning Motion; for although, as I lately told you, there were some who thought the material part of the World unfit for motion, yet there were others of a contrary sentiment; and from hence arose the dispute concerning the motion of the Earth. *Aristotle*, *Ptolemy*, and *Tycho Brahe*, held that it was immovable, (especially the two former;) because they saw the Sun rise in one place, and set in another, as also their Houses stand

in

in the same place to day, as they did yesterday, they thought it an infallible truth that the Sun danced about the Earth, whilst that stood still to receive its Salutation. In opposition to this Doctrine there have risen up several men, both Ancient and Modern, who have affirmed the contrary; it hath been disputed for above these 2000 years. That the Globe of the Earth moved, was of old the opinion (if not of *Orpheus*) of *Thales*, *Aristarchus*, and *Philolaus* the *Pythagorean*, and is maintained by *Copernicus*, *Kepler*, *Zongomontanus*, *Origanus*, *&c.* They held that the Sun, like the Heart of Man, is placed in the midst of the Body of the Universe, as the most convenient seat to heat and animate the whole, and that the Earth moved about it.

1. For (say they) we do not place a Candle in the corner, but in the midst of the Room, when we would have it give most light.

2. Besides, the circular motion of the Planets round about the Sun, seems to argue that the earth doth the same, and the Sun stands still.

3. Further, it is more reasonable to believe, that the Earth which hath need of light and heat, should go to seek what

it

wants, than that the Sun ſhould go ſeek what it wants not: The Fire doth not turn before the Roaſt-meat, but the Roaſt-meat before the Fire.

4. Again, 'tis urged, Reſt and Immobility is a more noble condition than Motion, wherefore more proper for the Sun a type and reſemblance of God.

5. And then they obſerved, heavy things were kept up in the Air, only by virtue of motion, as a Stone mounted in the Air by a Sling; and therefore how do we know (ſay they) but that the Earth, like a Child's Humming-Top, may be kept up by its own motion, and the ſwiftneſs of that motion, like that of the Tops, might make it ſeem immovable.

6. They who deny the motion of the Earth, muſt alſo deny it to hang in *æquilibrio*, which were an abſurdity.

7. Laſtly, it may ſeem much more credible, that the Earth moves five Leagues in a minute, than that the eighth Sphere in the ſame time moves above forty millions; which it muſt do, if it be true that the extent of the Heavens be infinite: ſo that to have all the Heavens move round in twenty four hours, were to meaſure an infinite by a finite.

XIX. But

XIX.

But to return to *Anima Mundi*: The dullest sort of the Vulgar People used this word *Soul*, as we do that of *Materia Prima*, or the *Philosophers-Stone*; they thought it be some strange excellent Thing, but had no particular form'd Notion thereof: And so did not conceive of being Alive in any thing, beside their living Body, and as soon as that was in the Grave, *Actum est*, they were at an end. To which effect *Seneca* speaks,

Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil, &c.

There were another sort clean contrary to them, as holding the Soul to be the Man; considering it, as inhabiting this Tabernacle of Clay, or cloath'd with this Mortal Body, which in death they shed, as the Stag doth his Horns, or the Snake her Hackle.

Sed magis ut fores, vestemque relinquere ut
Anguis
Guaderet, prælonga senex aut cornua
Cervus.

Lucret. lib. 3.

Whereupon the more easie sort advised with their Heathen-Priests, to learn what kind of Renovation they should have, when the time came. Which Priests aiming at their own Gain, and to render themselves necessary, did ever invent some Tale agreeable to that purpose: As *Varro* himself ingeniously confesses, That it is convenient, that the Vulgar should be ignorant of many Things that are True, and believe others that are False. *Quum veritatem qua liberetur inquirat: credatur ei expedire, quod fallitur.* Nay, and *Plato* himself, in his Republick, acknowledges: That for the Benefit of Mankind, it is often necessary to deceive them: So as it seems, their Religion serv'd but as a Curb, where-withal to rid the commonality. From whence we may observe, that the Religion of Nature, when corrected only by a Temporal Interest, doth but like *Antimony* prepared and made *Stibium*, become more Poisonous by its Correction

and

and Preparation. The *Pſeudo*-Fathers of their Church, being ſuch as brought Religion to their Intereſt, and not Intereſt to their Religion; fulfiling that Verſe of the Poet's,

Atque ipſa utilitas juſti prope Mater, & Æqui.

Horat.

Nevertheleſs, there was others among them, who being more opinionated of their own Abilities, would not ſo eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon; but uſing their own Reaſon, conſulted Nature upon that point; and in ſo doing, took our more uſual way of ſearching Knowledge, *à Notioribus ad Ignotiora*: When finding their preſent Souls not to be kept in any ſeparate Immaterial Eſtate, but all their Life long, to have been very agreeably lodged, and entertain'd in a bodily Subject, did conceive it probable, that they might in like manner be diſpoſed of here-after.

XX.

Now this last sort of Men, as well in former Ages as at this day, are thought to be the most numerous and greatest part of Mankind; that is, the People that believe the Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another; which is by some restrain'd within the same Species, by others not: The Soul of a Tyrant, they thought after his death would go into a Lyon, Tyger, or some other Beast of Prey; because they equally thirst after Blood: and by the same Reason, the Soul of a Poet, into a Grashopper, who sings till he starves. *Pythagoras* writes of himself, That he was first *Euphorbus*, then *Callidus*, then *Hermotimus*, then *Pyrrhus*, and last of all, *Pythagoras*. This Doctrine, as we may learn from the Holy Scriptures, and *Josephus*, had tainted not only the *Pharisees*, but *Herod* himself, and almost the whole Nation of the Jews; as appears, in that they held *Christ* to have been *Elias*, or one of the antient Prophets. Nay, some of the Apostles therefore,

Joseph. de Bel. Jud. lib. 2. 7.

(as

(as St. *Cyril* observes) were misled by this Errour, as is evident by their Question, touching the Man that was born blind; *Master, Who did sin, this Man or his Parents?* For, How could they conceive, that he could sin before he was born, unless in some other Body which his Soul actuated before in another Life? But, what was more strange, many of the *Jews* thought *Christ* to be *St. John Baptist*, who had not then been dead full three Years. So as by this it may appear, that the Transmigration of a New Soul, was by them supposed to be, not only at the time of ones Birth, but sometimes in ones Life also; and this Conceit perhaps they might receive, from observing how strangely Men are often-times changed, either for better or worse, both in Mind and Body, from what they were before. *In Græca Catena.* John 9.

XXI.

This Progress of the Soul seem'd to many, to be better disposed for Reward and Punishment, when not restrain'd into

any

any one *Species*, but of more free Dissolution, and more suitable to that Variety wherein Nature delights, as better suiting, and more approaching to its Infinity: And by this Liberty, they thought it often past from a Man to a Beast, from thence to a Plant, and next to a Stone. If the Circle were in the Descendent, but if in the Ascendent, then its Progress was from more gross Subjects to more Spiritual ones; for, *God* is able of Stones to raise up Children unto *Abraham*. They thought, that in Nature there was no such thing as *Quies*, the very hardest Stone in time mouldring into Dust; only by a circular Motion, from Rarefaction to Condensation, and from Condensation to Rarefaction again; as the Poet in these following Verses describes it:

——— ——— *Resolutaq; Tellus*
In liquidas rarescit aquas, tenuatur in auras,
Aeraque Humor habet, demptoque pondere rursus
In superos aer tenuissimus emicat ignes.
Inde retrò redeunt, idemque retexitur ordo,
Ignis enim densum, spissatus in æthera transit,
Hinc in aquas Tellus glomerat, cogiturque deinde

Ovid. Met. lib. 15.

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The course which Nature takes in Governing the World, is by one contrary prevailing over another: Thus the Moisture in the Air prevails over the Dryness of the Fire, the Coldness of the Water over the Heat of the Air; the Dryness of the Earth over the Moisture of the Water; and so the Moisture of the Water over the Dryness of the Earth; the Heat of the Air over the Coldness of the Water; and the Dryness of the Fire over the Moisture of the Air: And thus the various Alterations are made and produced out of one Extream into another, *Alternative.* *Ocell. Luc. cap. 2.*

XXII.

The most ingenious of this Sect (as if they had met with some blind Hint of the Evil Angels, cast out of Heaven) supposed two Creations: The first to have been Spiritual, and that the Fall of those Evil Angels, occasion'd our Corporeal Creation; that so there might be Bodies of divers Tempers, and duration, in whom those *Cicero Nat. Deor. Expiandorum scelerum causa.*

those wicked Spirits (their Souls) should be, for expiating their Guilt included and according to their Merits, rendred sensible of more or less Pain and Grief; whereof, in their Spiritual Condition, not cloath'd with Flesh and Blood, they were uncapable, as they conceived: For, as the Body hath no Sense without a Soul; so they believ'd, the Soul could have no Sense without a Body. And this they grounded upon Erroneous Observations; as *ex. gr.* If, say they, you take out your Eye-balls, you have as much Soul in you as you had before, but cannot see for want of those Organs; and the Soul will be devested of all its other Powers in operating, as well as in that of seeing, when it wants its Eye-balls. Which Errour proceeded from their not understanding of how much a Diviner Nature and Power the Soul is, than the Body.

XXIII.

XXIII.

Now, by Men of this vain Opinion, our Sublunary Orb was esteem'd the only Hell; they thinking this World more proper, and better proportion'd to the Offences and Capacities of the wicked Soul, in our passionate and momentary Condition, than the Tradition of everlasting Torments, for acting those Vices which their Nature prompted them to: Or, as a Learned Gentleman of our own Nation expresses it, for not being sound, when we are created sick. An Excuse so unlikely to procure our Pardon with *God*, that it should prove uneffectual with one of us, if a Man that had robbed and wounded us, should tell us, He was prompted thereunto by his Nature or Inclinations.

I do not find by their Writings, that they believ'd evil Actions so much to proceed from the Devil, as their own corrupt Natures;

Fortunat enim Natura prius nos intus, &c.
Horat.

And

And therefore many of them thought that the only Evil Spirits which hurried Men to ruine, were their own Paſſions, *Love*, *Fear*, *Anger*, *Ambition*, *Revenge*, *Luſt*, &c. which Paſſions are generally the cauſes of Mens Deſtruction, both in Lives and Fortunes. That Paſſion is an Enemy to the knowledge of the Truth, both in Diſcourſe and Writing, we our ſelves experience. God came not in the *Earthquake*, nor *Whirlwind*, but in the *ſtill Voice*: And we ſhall never hear Reaſon deliver'd in Paſſion. But that which chiefly induc'd the Heathens, to impute all their Vices to their own corrupt Natures, was this, becauſe they could hardly believe, that God would ſuffer a declared Enemy ſo far to prevail againſt him, as when he would have all Men ſaved, the Devil ſhould ſo far over-rule, as through his inſtigation a Thouſand Men ſhould be Damn'd, for one that is Saved; which would happen, if all Vicious Perſons were denied Salvation. But this Objection of theirs will be rendered vain, if we conſider the Devil as God's Executioner, having no power but from above.

XXIV.

As for the aforementioned Doctrine of Transmigration, it abounds much at this day in *China* and both the *Indies*, especially the *East*, where the great swarms of Mankind live; besides vast numbers in *America* and *Africa*. As for the *Mahometans*, (who are no small part of Mankind) although they have a Religion, so craftily fitted to vulgar capacities, as 'tis thought to be the most politick, and likely to spread and last, that ever was invented: Yet even among them they have a Sect or Heresie exceeding numerous, call'd by the *Arabians Altenasack*, which signifies those that hold *Transmigration of Souls*; and the whole *Mahometan* Superstition, (although it gives not the Soul a new Body in this Life) allows departed Souls new Bodies, fresh and lusty, in the life to come, without which, it could not enjoy their sensual Paradise, which the *Alcboran* promises them. But it still censures those of the *Altenasack*, for Hereticks, chiefly because they can't believe the everlasting and mercilesse Hell, esteeming it a thing that would rob God of his Attribute of Mercy, which they hold were not infinite (as all his Attributes must be) if in no measure it extended to the most wicked and wretched Creatures. Not considering how short soever a Man's Life is, it matters not, for he hath an offer made

him, either of eternal happineſs or miſery, and he might chuſe either which he pleaſes: Nor is Eternal miſery more diſproportionable to a vicious life, than Eternal happineſs to a vertuous; ſo that he plays but upon the ſquare either way.

Now amongſt thoſe Heathens, there were a third ſort of Men, whoſe fancy (as they themſelves thought) was of very obvious experience, but ſeem'd to be ſtifled and ſuppreſſed, as neither ſuiting to the wiſhes of Men, nor conducive to the governing of them: And theſe are thoſe which conceiv'd a Man to be neither Soul nor Body, but only the Reſult of their Conjunction, which vaniſhing, he was for ever unconcern'd and loſt. Becauſe that which in its beſt eſtate was eſteem'd but a ſhadow upon Earth, they ignorantly ſuppoſed, muſt on the parting of the Body, whoſe ſhadow it was, be for ever loſt. Yea, and as I ſhew'd before out of *Lucretius*, they held, that if the ſame Body could return upon Earth again, and be reunited to it, that might conſtitute a new Man, but of no concern to the former; no more than my ſhadow which I ſhall have next Year, will be to my this Year's ſhadow, although I have the ſame Body next Year, as I have this. And this *Chimæra* of theirs, is by one of their own Writers compar'd to Clouds gathering together, under the repreſentation of various

ſhapes,

ſhapes, as of a Caſtle, Gyant, Mountain, or the like: In which appearances they often produce real effects, as Thunder, Lightning, Winds, Rain, *&c.* till by their ſeparation, the Gyant, Caſtle or Mountain vaniſh; as alſo the real effects ſoon paſs away, but ſtill the ſame Clouds remain, though in new Conjectures and Appearances: Which vain Opinion is expreſſed in theſe Verſes.

As Clouds in ſhape of Men diſpers'd by Wind,
The vaniſh'd Men do leave the Clouds behind:
So's Man of Soul and Body made in one,
Which ſever'd, each have Being, but be none.
Pure Natures mix, and part without decay,
But what from them reſults, quite fades away.
Thus in ſad earneſt true th'old Proverb's found,
A Man betwixt two Stools doth fall toth' Ground.

XXV.

In anſwer to this wicked Opinion, I ſhall only recite that ingenious Argument which *Tertullian* long ſince uſed upon the ſame occaſion. 'O Man, that makeſt this Objection 'to me, think what thou waſt before Created; thou waſt nothing, for if any thing, 'thou couldſt not but remember it. Thou 'then that waſt nothing before thy Creation, and when ceaſeſt to live, ſhalt return 'to nothing, why canſt thou not once again

'be brought out of nothing, by the will of 'the ſame Creator, who at firſt created thee 'of nothing? Will there come any new 'thing unto thee? Seeing he made no diffi-'culty to create thee what thou waſt not, 'thou oughteſt not to ſuſpect, but that he 'can as eaſily re-make thee what thou waſt. 'We ſee every day, the light after it hath 'loſt its darkneſs, reaſſumes it; the Stars 'loſe their light, and recover it again: Time 'begins at the ſame term it finiſhed: Fruits 'drop off from the Trees, and yet come a-'gain in their ſeaſon: The Corn after its 'beard is grown long with age, falls to the 'Ground and corrupts, but it wants not its 'Reſurrection; therefore why ſhould we 'think, that Man ſhould be leſs worthy of 'another life, than any of theſe things which 'are made but for his ſervice? Although we cannot Mathematically demonſtrate the ſame, any more than they can the contrary, yet the belief of the Reſurrection, is, I am ſure, more for the Honour of God, and ſafe-ty and happineſs of Man.

XXVI.

Now theſe kind of Heathenish Souls, ſeem too Airy, to raiſe any Foundation, whereon to build the Principles of Vertue, or Moral honeſty. One Motive which induc'd them to believe Mens Souls to be ſuch Phantomes, was their obſerving Men to be ſo much delighted, and obſtinately taken with

with the Fictions and fantaſtical Inventions of Poetry and Superſtition; which have neither truth, or ſo much as poſſibility in them, and therefore no fit Food for any thing that hath a real Being; but their waking Dreams are far from deſerving credit upon this pretence, unleſs that be a ſufficient Reaſon, which an ancient Writer delivers in theſe Words, *Credibile quia Impoſſibile*, according to that old ſaying, *Quanto abſurdius, tanto melius.*

XXVII.

Epicurus perceiving the number of Senſual Men, to exceed by far that of the more Spiritual, laid the foundation of his Sect in ſenſual Pleaſures, and held a Corporeal Soul, the better to fit it for thoſe Corporeal Pleaſures; and then to ſecure this *Anima* againſt thoſe ſevere after-reckonings, the apprehenſions whereof he perceived God and Nature had implanted in the Hearts of all Men, he gave it a *Quieta eſt*, by pretending that the Soul is extinct in Death, or at leaſt to vaniſh into an eternal inſenſibility, as unconcern'd as if it had never been. The finer ſort of Wits, unwilling to fall ſo low, could not admit of this total mortality of the Soul, however they were ſo weak, as to acknowledge, that his Reaſons ſeem'd very powerful to aſſert it. As firſt, to behold the Soul in its Infancy very weak, and then by degrees with the Body to grow daily more

and more vigorus, till it arrives to its perfection, from which estate, together with the Body it declined, till the decrepitude of the one, and dotage of the other, made it seem to them probable, that they should both likewise perish together.

——— *Gigni pariter cùm corpore & unà*
Crescere sentimus, pariterq; senescere mentem.
Lucret. *lib* 3.

As also that the many abominable passions of Man's Soul, seem'd to be its Diseases, and to argue its mortality, as plainly as bodily Diseases do that of the Body; and that the imputing them only to the irascible or concupiscible parts, thereby hoping to keep the rational part safe, was, say they, as if one should fancy that an Ulcer in the Heart or Liver, could not by consequence destroy the Brain.

——— *Mentem sanari, corpus ut ægrum,*
Cernimus, & flecti medicina posse videmus. Ibid.

Moreover, that in old age, Men felt their minds oppress'd with cares, to faint into a kind of despondency, and as fit for a Grave, as one that is tired with a long and wearisom Journey, is for a Bed; and even in its strongest Estate, a Fever, Apoplexy, or little bite

of

of a mad Dog, destroys all its most glorified, scientifical faculties.

——*Corpoream naturam animi esse necesse est,*
Corporeis quoniam telis, ictuque laborat.
Lucret. *lib.* 3.

The last Argument they held, was as vain as any of the rest, *viz.* They could not apprehend how two things of so different natures as mortality and immortality, Body and Soul, should mix and associate together so long.

Quippe etenim mortale æterno jungere & una
Consentire putare, & fungi mutua posse.
Desipere est, &c. —————— Ibid.

By these and such like symptoms, they suspected the Soul to be of a mortal condition, although of a Divine off-spring: And as at the Siege of *Troy*, *Sarpedon Jupiter*'s own Son was knock'd on the Head, as well as the ordinary *Trojans*; so they ignorantly thought the Soul (though of a Diviner extraction than the corporeal parts) might in such base company be crush'd, —— *Simul ævo fessa fatiscit.* But these and the rest of th ir Arguments are soon answered, in laying all the fault on the Corporeal Organs, which being by Age or other disorders made to fail, caused a proportionable failing in the faculties. Whereupon they conjectur'd, that in a total

failing of the Organs, occasion'd by Death, there must consequently follow an equal failing, as they thought, of the Faculties; and it fares with a Watch, which if it happens by fall or other Accidents, to have a Wheel broken, however the Spring remain intire, yet it becomes useless, and the Motions cease. These were the most plausible Arguments for their vain Opinion of the Soul's Mortality, which deserve rather the name of blind Conjectures, than convincing Arguments.

XXVIII.

The Nature of the Soul is so obscure, that the most discerning Philosophy could not tell what to make of it, some holding it to be Fire, others Water; some one thing, some another; and if they were so divided in the Nature of the Soul, how much more incapable were they to judge of the Soul's future state? *Erasmus* concerning the Immortality of the Soul, saith, *Hoc mihi persuasit non humana Ratio sed Fides.* However, I think there may be much more said for the Immortality of the Soul, than can be urged against it. There is not any Opinion in the World, hath been more generally received in the Hearts of Men, than this of the Soul's future state; and how should it have been so long rooted in our Minds, were there nothing of truth in it? Nature which makes nothing in vain, has implanted in

Man

Man a desire of Immortality, which desire is vain, if he be not capable of it. Nothing is corrupted but by its contrary, and therefore that which hath no contrary (as the Soul) must be free from corruption. The Harmony of the World, which permits not things to pass from one extreme to another, without some mean, requires, that, as there are pure Spirits and Intelligences, which are immortal, and Substances corporeal and mortal; so there is a middle nature between these two, *Man*, call'd by the *Platonists* on this account, the Horizon of the Universe, because he serves for a link and *medium* to unite the Hemisphere of the Intellectual Nature, with the inferiour Hemisphere of the Corporeal Nature. Also since the Soul can know all sorts of Bodies, it must be consequently exempt from all corporeal Entity. As the Tongue to judge aright of sapours, must it self have none; the same may be said of the eye, to discern well of colours. To say that the Soul is mortal, because it acts only by the help of its Organs, were to draw a conclusion from an uncertainty, it being never yet prov'd, that the Soul can't act of it self without its Organs. The Law of all Nations, is the Law of Nature, and the belief of the Soul's Immortality, is a dictate of it: But the opposers are as rare as Earth-quakes, which (if there were no other Reasons) would be

a miserable Argument to prove the motion of the Earth. Remorse of Conscience, and God's Justice not punishing all Sins in this life, presupposes another. *Pomponatius* under pretence of defending the Soul's Immortality, hath fought against it; and professing himself a *Peripatetick*, hath in this particular, embraced the Sentiment of *Epicurus*, saying, that although the Soul of Man should be mortal, yet Vertue would sufficiently recompence it self, thereby designing to render the belief of the Immortality of the Soul unnecessary. But supposing this to be true of Vertue, yet would it not be equally true of Vice, that they which addict themselves thereunto, are sufficiently punished by doing so. Nor was there ever yet such a Law-giver heard of, that established a constitution to punish a Man for Robbery, by forcing him to commit Adultery. *Cyrus* on his Death-bed, declared to his Two Sons, that he could never believe, that the Soul all the while it is contain'd in this mortal Body, should live, and afterwards die and be senseless, but rather after Death the Soul is most wise. An excellent Speech, and worthy of himself. If in the behalf of this Article, my Arguments prove not so effectual as at first I design'd them, my excuse may be the same as *Plato* made for himself upon the like occasion,

Amyraldus.

Xenoph. lib. 8. c. 9.

caſion, *viz.* 'tis ſufficient if any ſpeak but probably in ſo difficult a Subject.

XXIX.

There is an ancient Maxim in Philoſophy, *viz. Nihil eſt in Intellectu, quod non prius fuit in Senſu.* All our knowledge ariſes out of the Experience which our Senſes give us; and therefore a Man born throughly deaf, can have no apprehenſion of Muſick. But the Soul is of a Spiritual nature, and ſo in it ſelf utterly imperceptible by our Senſes; the Soul it ſelf alone, can reflect on its own acts and conceptions. 'Tis indeed very unſafe, any farther than it can be made appear we are guided by the clue of Divine Revelation, to gueſs and diſcourſe over boldly concerning the nature of the Soul, or peremptorily to determine of its future condition: Wherein among all the Ancients, *Pliny* hath been eſteemed the moſt cautious, who to direct our Prognoſtication therein, calls us back to obſerve the time paſt, and from thence to conjecture, what will become of us hereafter: According to that of the Tragœdian, *Quæris quo jaceas poſt obitum loco? Quo non nata jacent.* As if the Wheel went rather round, than forward. As *Seneca* the Philoſopher, who blindly ſurmis'd the Doctrine of future Joys, to be *magis optantium, quam docentium*; and by the ſame reaſon, the Terrours of the Infernall

Lake

Lake to be *magis timentium, quam probantium.* But every Man's Conscience tells him another Tale, *& surdo verbere cædit*, objecting the Terrour of a Judgment to come.

XXX.

Yet for as much as in all Ages there were found some Monsters of Men, who having no sense of Divine Goodness, or Natural Justice, would confound all Humane Society, as not having in themselves any restraint, either from Nature or Religion. For such the Heathen Law-givers did wisely provide a *Pluto*, a Whip and a Gallows; of all which, the Gallows prov'd most effectual on those that were debauched, beyond all fear of punishment hereafter, so they could but escape in this life. And even among us, where the Light of the Gospel shines so bright, and where there is such excellent Preaching, a Man that frequents the Sessions-house, will soon find how great a share of our preservation we owe to the Publick Executioner.

XXXI.

The Heathen Philosophers (as I shew'd you) were much divided in their Opinions concerning the Soul's future estate; some held it mortal, others immortal. Of those that held the mortality of the Soul, the *Epicureans* were the chief Sect, who notwithstanding their impious Doctrines, yet

yet ſome of their lives were vertuous. *Cardan* had ſo great a value for their Moral Actions, that he appear'd in Juſtification of them. 'It appears (ſays he) by 'the Writings of *Cicero* and *Diogenes Laertius*, that the *Epicureans* did more religiouſly obſerve Laws, Piety, and Fidelity among men, than either the *Stoicks* 'or *Platoniſts*: and I ſuppoſe the cauſe 'thereof was, that (as *Galen* tells us) a 'man is either good or evil by cuſtom, 'but none confideth in thoſe, that do not 'profeſs ſanctity of life. Wherefore they 'were compelled to uſe greater Fidelity, 'thereby the better to juſtifie their profeſſion; from which reaſon it likewiſe 'proceeds, that at this day few do equalize the fidelity of Uſurers, notwithſtanding they are moſt baſe in the reſt 'of their life. Alſo among the *Jews*, 'whilſt the *Phariſees* that conſeſs'd the 'Reſurrection, and the Immortality of 'the Soul, frequently perſecuted *Chriſt*; 'the *Sadducees* who denied the Reſurrection, Angels and Spirits, meddled not 'with him above once or twice, and that 'very gently, too. Thus if you compare 'the Lives of *Pliny* and *Seneca*, (I do not 'mean their Writings) you ſhall find *Pliny* with his mortality of the Soul, did 'was, far exceed *Seneca* in honeſty of manners, as *Seneca* excels him in Religious

diſcourſe.

'discourse. The *Epicureans* observ'd ho-
'nesty above others, and in their conversa-
'tion were usually found inoffensive and ver-
'tuous, and for that reason were often em-
'ploy'd by the *Romans*, when they could
'perswade them to accept of great Em-
'ploys; for their fault was not any want of
'ability or honesty, but their general desire
'of leading a private life, easie and free
'from trouble, although inglorious. For
'where Immortality is not own'd, there can
'be no ambition of posthumous Glory,
'such as excited Tyrants to commit those
'follies, which the Poet derides in these two
'lines:

—I demens & sævas curre per Alpes
Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias. Juven. Sat.

'Now such as these were none of the *Epi-*
'*cureans*, but they instead of those bloody
'Scenes of Gallantry, undertook to manage
'carefully the Inheritances of Orphans;
'breeding up at their own charge the
'Children of their deceased Friends, and
'were counted good men, unless in were
'in point of Religious Worship; For they
'constantly affirm'd there were no Gods,
'or at least such as concern'd not them-
'selves with humane affairs, according to
that of the Poet,

Nec bene promeritis capitur, nec tangitur irâ.
Lucret.

'Neither (as he goes on) doth the hopes of 'Immortality conduce to Fortitude, as some 'vainly ſuggeſt, for *Brutus* was not va-'lianter than *Caſſius*, and if we will con-'feſs the truth, the deeds of *Brutus* were 'more cruel than thoſe of *Caſſius*: For he 'uſed the *Rhodians* that were his Enemies 'far more kindly, than *Brutus* did thoſe 'amicable Cities which he govern'd. In 'a word, though they both had a hand 'in *Cæſar*'s Murder, yet *Brutus* was the 'only Parricide. So that the *Stoicks* which 'believ'd a Providence, liv'd as if there 'were none, whereas the *Epicureans* who 'denied it, liv'd as if there were. This is that which *Cardan* urges (perhaps with an impious intent) in favour of the *Epicureans*, which is not at all convincing, nor will it ſerve to wipe off the deſerved reproach caſt upon them. I eſteem the *Epicurean* Philoſophy like Gaming, even when manag'd with the greateſt Art and cunning, to be but a rational kind of madneſs. Beſides, however there might have been found ſome few good men of all Sects, how abſurd ſoever, yet that muſt not go for a ruled caſe that the Sect is

Cum ratione inſanire.

ſo.

ſo. That Opinion which conduces moſt to the good of Mankind, is to be incouraged. If theſe led ſuch vertuous lives, while they were under the obſcurity of Paganiſm and a wrong perſwaſion, how much more eminent would they have been, had they been guided by a true Light? Beſides, all Hiſtorians agree not that *Seneca* was ſo vicious, and *Epicurus* himſelf ſo vertuous, neither *Dion* nor *Laertius* being altogether infallible.

XXXII.

The next Sect to the *Epicureans* in point of incredulity concerning the Soul, I conceive to be the *Scepticks*, who were by ſome eſteemed not only the modeſteſt, but the moſt perſpicacious of all Sects. They neither affirm'd nor deny'd any thing, but doubted of all things; *Omnia in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, ſuſpenſa; magis omnia veriſimilia quam vera.* They thought all our knowledge ſeem'd rather like truth, than to be really true, and that for ſuch like reaſons as theſe.

Min. Fel.

1. They denied any knowledge of the Divine Nature, becauſe, ſay they, to know adæquately is to comprehend, and to comprehend is to contain, and the thing contain'd muſt be leſs than that which contains it; to know inadæquately, is not to know.

2. From

2. From the uncertainty of the Senſes, as *ex gr.* our Eyes repreſent things at a diſtance to be leſs than really they are: A ſtraight ſtick, in the water ſeems to be crooked; the Moon to be no bigger than a Cheeſe; the Sun greater at Riſing and Setting, than at Noon: The Shore ſeems to move, and the Ship to ſtand ſtill; ſquare things to be round at diſtance; an erect Pillar, to be leſs at the top. Neither do we know (ſay they) whether objects are really ſo as our eyes repreſent them to us; for the ſame thing which appears white to us, ſeems yellow to him that hath the Jaundice, and red to a Creature that hath red eyes; alſo if a man rubs his eyes, the figure which he beholds ſeems long or narrow: and therefore it is not improbable, but that Goats, Cats, and other Creatures, which have long pupils of the eye, may alſo think thoſe things long which we call round: For as Glaſſes repreſent the object variouſly according to their ſhape, ſo it may be with our eyes: And ſo the ſenſe of Hearing deceives: Thus the Eccho or Trumpet ſounded in a Valley, makes the ſound ſeem before us, when it is behind us. Beſides, how can we think that an Ear, which hath a narrow paſſage, can receive the ſame ſound with that which hath a wide one? Or the Ear

Sir *W. Rawleigh* out of *Sext. Emp.*

whose inside is full of hair, to hear the same with a smooth Ear? Experience teacheth us, that if we stop, or half stop our Ears, the sound cometh not in the same manner, as when the Ears are open. Nor is the Smelling, Taste or Touch less subject to mistake: For the same scents please some, and displease others; and so in our Tasts, to a rough and dry tongue that very thing seems bitter, (as in an Ague) which to the moist tongue seems otherwise; and so is it in other Creatures. The like is true of the Touch: For it were absurd to think, that those Creatures which are covered with Shels, Scales, or Hairs, should have the same sense in touching with those that are smooth. Thus one and the same object is diversly judged of, according to the various qualities of the Instruments of Sense, which conveyeth it to the Imagination; from all which the *Sceptick* concludes, that what these things are in their own nature, whether red, white, bitter or sweet, he cannot tell: for, says he, why should I prefer my own conceit in affirming the nature of things to be thus, or thus, because it seemeth so to me? when other living Creatures perhaps think it otherwise. But the greatest fallacy is in the operation of our inward senses: for the fancy sometime is perswaded, that it hears and sees what it doth not; and our Reasoning

soning is so weak, that in many disciplines scarce one demonstration is found, though this alone produces Science. Wherefore it was *Democritus* his opinion, that Truth is hidden in a Well, that she may not be found by men. Now although this Doctrine is very inconsistent with the light of Christianity, yet I could wish *Adam* had been of this perswasion, for then he would not have mortgaged his Posterity as he did, for the purchace of a Twilight-Knowledge. Now from these sinister observations it was, that they esteemed all our Sciences to be but Conjectures, and our Knowledge but Opinion. Whereupon doubting the sufficiency of humane Reason, they would not venture to affirm or deny any thing of the Soul's future state, but civilly and quietly gave way to the Doctrines, and Ordinances under which they lived, without raising or espousing any new Opinions. And in those times all the great Innovations and Embroilments among men, were set up by the *Stoicks* and *Platonists*, who were highly possess'd with the desire of Immortality and Glory. Which thing being observed, did great violence in those days to the belief of the Soul's Immortality, making men the less willing to censure those for Atheists who doubted or denied it, but sociably to admit them into Business, and Trusts

of

of the highest importance. The *Chineses* have a Religious Sect call'd the *Nantolines*, who preach up publickly the Soul's Mortality. Also at this day in the *East-Indies*, (where the greatest swarms of Mankind live, and those of many Sects and Religions,) it is found by our Merchants trading thither, that not only the far greatest number are of those which believe no other Rewards or Punishments for the Soul, except what it shall after death meet with in a new Body upon Earth; but also they find by Commerce with them, that they are the most eminently remarkable for their honesty, above any of the other Sects. From whence *Postellus* observes, that few men can debauch Nature in themselves to such a degree, as to commit all the wickedness they were capable of, notwithstanding they believ'd no Reward or Punishment hereafter. For, says he, you must either acknowledge Superstitions unnecessary, or else defile your own Natures, and confess men to be worse than Beasts, who can live without those terrours, and yet not devour one another unless in cases of necessity.

XXXIII.

Thus if you seriously recollect the Heathen Opinions concerning the Soul's estate after Death, we shall find that the most inquisitive among them had but a slender

conceit

conceit of the Soul's eternal condition; or at best they thought (as *Bernier* says the Inhabitants of *Indostan* believe,) that it would mix with the Soul of the World again: like Water taken out of the Ocean in a Bottle, and swims therein for a while, till by some accident or other being broke, it returns back to the Sea from whence it was taken; or else passing from one Body to another, and then in either case, its condition, whether good or bad, would be of no concern to its former Owner. Which made *Seneca* so little value his future state, as to speak of it with a *Quid mihi curæ erit Transfuga?* So that upon what I can find, they look'd upon Man to be made up of Soul and Body together; not Body without Soul, nor Soul without Body, but Man to be the Result of both, *viz.* Soul and Body. With whom (according to their vain Opinion) it fares after death, as with a *Parliament* after Dissolution, which being made up of three Estates, *Lords Spiritual*, *Lords Temporal*, and *Commons*, remains a *Parliament* whilst the King pleases to grant them his *Fiat*: But when the King gives his word to Dissolve it, the three *Estates* remain still, but the *Parliament* is gone. And thus they held Man to be the Result of Soul and Body, till God pleases to command his dissolution, after which the Soul and Body remain

remain in a ſeparate Being, only that the *Man* as well as the *Parliament* is loſt in the Diſſolution. And to proceed further with this compariſon, as the *Parliament* repreſents the Kingdom, of which they are a ſmaller part, ſo did the Heathens believe that *Man* in ſome kind repreſents the Almighty, of whom he is a portion. So as by this, we may ſee the effect of all their impious Tenents, concerning the Soul's future Eſtate, was, that Man is but a Paſſenger in this Life, and the World his Inne, till Sickneſs brings up the Reckoning, and Death comes in, with an *All is paid.*

XXXIV.

Theſe were the moſt conſiderable Opinions of the Heathen Philoſophers; yet for as much as there was never any Sect but had ſome defect either in Theory or Practice; Some have thought it beſt not to eſpouſe any, but to imitate the Bee, and to gather what is good out of each. Which was the way of *Patamon* of *Alexandria*, who (as *Diogenes Laertius* records,) founded a Sect called *Elective*, which allow'd every one to chuſe what was beſt in all Philoſophies. When I ſeriouſly reflect upon many of theſe groſs erroneous Tenents, recited in this Diſcourſe, I cannot but acknowledge with *Cicero*, That there is no Doctrine, how abſurd and fooliſh ſoever, which hath not had ſome Philoſo-

pher

pher for its Champion; not that I have ſo mean an Opinion of Philoſophy it ſelf, (which is indeed the true knowledge of cauſes and effects,) eſpecially the Moral part of it, as to believe it altogether unneceſſary in the Government of Mankind. Some there be that have Damn'd all other Philoſophers for *Epicurus* his ſake, as thinking them no Friends to Religion. But ſuch Perſons do *ad pauca reſpicere*, and therefore judge accordingly: For though a lawful acquaintance with Events and *Phænomena* that appear on this Theatre of the World, would contribute much to free Mens Minds from the ſervitude of Superſtition, *Arctis Religionum Animos nodis exſolvere*; yet it would breed a ſober and amicable belief of the Deity, as it did in the *Pythagoreans*, *Platoniſts*, and other Sects of Philoſophers, if we may take their own Word for it. He is a ſuperficial Philoſopher who adheres to Atheiſm, as a Noble Philoſopher ſpeaks to this purpoſe: Philoſophy and Religion being like two Wheels in a Watch, though they move contrary, yet are both conducive to the regular motion and government of Mankind. *Lucr.* lib. 1. *prope fin.*

XXXV.

Now to all theſe various Opinions, there have been oppoſed various Objections: As firſt, If the Soul be a portion of the Divine Spirit,

Spirits inſeparable from that its Original, and acted thereby, men would then indulge themſelves, by thinking all the Evil they committed would go upon God's Score, rather than their own: *Et mallent emendare Deum, quam ſeipſos*: That all Induſtry were diſcourag'd, all blame or praiſe taken away. Therefore *Tully* calls this *Ignava Ratio*: Who blames the Sword for a murder, and not the hand that imployes it? Nay, in Creatures ſenſible, if a Lion or a Serpent kills a man, they but act according to their Natures. To all which their uſual Anſwer was, by a conſtant allowing unto the Soul of Man a freedom of Will, not ſubject to be forced out of its own Conduct; Wherefore men are ſaid to be tempted into vicious courſes, but not dragg'd or compell'd. And beſides this freedom, Nature (ſaith the Philoſopher) hath implanted in the heart of man, before he debauches himſelf by evil cuſtoms, a harmleſs and kind diſpoſition, not willing to deſtroy or hurt other men, unleſs it be upon an abſolute Neceſſity, for his own Preſervation: and then, when enforced by ſuch Neceſſity, though he chooſe to do it, as of two evils the leaſt, yet he cannot act it without regret, unleſs by evil Converſe he hath poiſon'd that inbred Goodneſs which he brought with him into the World. And upon ſuch, one may obſerve the Juſtice of Divine Vengeance; the courſes theſe vitiated Spirits take, end

in

in Poverty, or ſome other miſery, and ſo brings them either to a Priſon, Hoſpital, or Gallows at home, or elſe to be ſlain in a Foreign War, wherein they ought not to have concern'd themſelves. And thus we ſee Puniſhment was ever judg'd due to all free Agents, for depraving of their Natural Tempers; ſo true is that ſaying, When Man loſt his Innocence, he loſt his Happineſs; and that of the Poet is no leſs,

——*Semita certè*
Tranquillæ per Virtutem patet unica vitæ.
Juven. Sat. 10.

So that others, who according to their natural Goodneſs led harmleſs and induſtrious Lives, enjoy'd a ſweet calmneſs of mind, free from thoſe Terrours which daily torment rapacious men; whereby, ſay they, it appears, that admitting their Tenent of the Soul's mortality were true, though nothing is leſs ſo, yet this were enough to deter men from Impieties, I mean the Puniſhment that attends the Wicked, and reward of the Good even in this life, unleſs obſtructed by their own folly. But of this I have ſpoken before.

XXXVI.

Another objection wherewith the Philoſophers were much perplex'd; (as indeed they had reaſon to be) was their want of Aſſu-

rance that the Soul ſhould meet with future Juſtice, demanding withal, how then in this Life could the baſer ſort of Spirits be detert'd from gainful Villanies, as might be acted in ſecret, and ſo never like to be diſcover'd, but to eſcape the Puniſhment of the Laws, and hatred of men, ſuch as Perjuries, unſuſpected Murders, concealing dead mens Truſts, and the like? eſpecially thoſe who by Stupidity and Immorality, have quite extinguiſh'd the Light of Nature in their minds. In anſwer thereunto (Reaſon for the moſt part being like a Pitcher with two ears, that may be taken on either ſide) the Philoſophers have adventur'd in this Subject, to take the Pitcher by the left ear, and rather than not juſtifie their Opinions, have (againſt all Reaſon) adventur'd to reply upon the things objected, with ſuch fallacious Arguments as theſe:

Mont. Eſſ. lib. 2. c. 12.

1. They ſeem to queſtion whether any Villany could be ſo ſecretly acted, as might not admit ſome hazard of being diſcover'd; and if ſo, then the danger of that might terrifie them into honeſty. But grant (ſay they) that Vices may be carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, as no mortal eye could diſcover; yet we find by a long and ſad experience, that in thoſe places, where by publick Inſtitution men are taught to expect Divine Juſtice after death, as ſome of us from *Æacus*: Nevertheleſs, ſuch dull and

and debauch'd Perſons, have ſeldom their minds ſo clear and ſedate, as to weigh and regard thoſe future accounts; or if they do, it is not till at the point of death, when they are paſt doing any more miſchief, and that then the Apprehenſions of *Elyſium*, or the *Stygian* Lake, produces as little good to the Publick, as to themſelves; Vice firſt leaving Them, and not they Vice. Moreover, ſay they, if ſuch perſons would betimes recollect themſelves, they might eaſily find that no Humane wit could ſound the depth of Nature; and therefore how can men aſſure themſelves, but that God who hath found out this way of immerſing a Spirit into fleſh and blood, thereby to make it ſmart and grieve, which otherwiſe, in its pure Nature, it could not have done, according to their Opinions: How therefore (ſay they) do men know, but that the ſame Almighty Wiſdom, even without a miracle, may uſe it ſo again? or take it into millions of other ways as natural to chaſtiſe it in a more afflicting manner, eſpecially ſeeing this way hath ſo little purified it. Theſe and many other blind Surmiſes, inſtead of Arguments, were they fain to make Uſe of, rather than acknowledge the belief of Immortality neceſſary; but no Argument is more fallacious than this of theirs, which flies from God's Power to his Will: For, *à poſſe ad eſſe, non valet conſequentia*; and he who believes a *Ibid.*

thing only becauſe it may be true, may as well doubt of it becauſe it may be otherwiſe. Beſides, the very Heathen Laws themſelves, as recorded by their own Hiſtorians, ſhew how much inferiour their Vertues were to ours. Which Law is more perfect, that which ſays, Thou ſhalt not kill; or that which ſays, Thou ſhalt not be angry? That which forbids Adultery; or that which turns the eyes from the object? That which forbids evil Actions; or that which forbids evil Speakings? That which commands us not to wrong others; or that which permits us not to revenge a wrong done to our ſelves? *Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt*, ſays *Minucius Felix* to the Heathens. And with the ſame Arguments a modern moſt ingenious Poet, brings in St. *Catherine* vindicating Chriſtianity from Paganiſm.

'Tis true your Vertues are the ſame we teach,
But in our Practice they much higher reach.
You but forbid to take another's due;
But we forbid even to deſire it too.
Revenge of Injuries, you Vertue call;
But we Forgiveneſs of our wrongs extoll.
Immodeſt deeds you hinder to be wrought;
But we proſcribe the leaſt immodeſt Thought.
So much your Vertues are in ours refin'd,
That yours but reach the Actions, ours the Mind.

St. Cath.

By

By which we may ſee, how much more perfect our Laws are than theirs, how crooked they appear compar'd with our ſtraight Rule; and thoſe unripe Vertues they had, were meliorated by the Influence of Chriſtianity.

XXXVII.

Another grand Objection to thoſe Philoſophers, who denied the Soul's Immortality, and by conſequence, all future entertainment according to a vertuous or a vicious life, was grounded on their frequent obſerving of men eminent for Vertue, to live and dye in miſery: whereas others notorious for Vice, lived and died in great proſperity. This put as well Philoſophers, as alſo Saints to their wits end, till the latter took Haven at the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, and there ſhelter'd themſelves againſt all fears: (but they are not within the reach of this diſcourſe, which meddles with nothing but the vain conceits of men, who had not that Port to friend.) In anſwer to this unanſwerable Objection, ſome of them, eſpecially the *Stoicks*, would make us believe that Poverty, Contempt, a Dungeon, Nakedneſs, Ulcers, and roaring in the Streets, are not really evils, eſpecially to a noble mind that can defie Fortune. But theſe Bravado's become only Mad men, and whoſoever is converſant in ſuch Writings, doth only ſtudy to make himſelf a Fool: and perhaps the *French* have reſpect hereunto, when they call a learned

Asi Un Philosophe. Such a man's Character is ingeniously given us by *Horace*, in these three lines:

Cum septem studiis annos dedit, insenuitque
Libris & curis, statuâ taciturnius exit,
Plerumque & populum risu quatit. — Horat.

But to return to our Objections: There have been offer'd better Solutions than those of the *Stoicks*, (though not at all convincing to any Rational man:) As first, they surmise, That peradventure those Vertues which we take for sincere, may be counterfeit and mistaken, proceeding perhaps from some wicked motive. Thus the Souldier whose courage we admire for scaling a Wall, it may be (say they) he is moved by malice to murder some particular Enemy of his, or he knows not of a Mine ready to spring under him. Thus also when a Woman is prais'd for Chastity, perhaps either it is for want of Opportunity, *Casta quam nemo rogavit*, or from some natural Defect in her Constitution, as Frigidity and Flegm, or else for fear of Conception, and from an unwillingness to have her Reputation lie at the mercy of a loose young man's tongue. Again, (say they) if you see an Officer refuse a Bribe, consider if he be not one of a plentiful Fortune, that covets Vulgar applause more than a Superfluity of Riches. Or consider whether the Bribe

were

were not ſmall and inconſiderable, becauſe A many will hazard their Reputation, for Pounds, who will not for Pence: Or obſerve whether the time was ſecret and convenient, wherein the Bribe was offer'd: or, laſt of all, whether it was not refus'd out of a proſpect of ſome greater Advantage, when he could not poſſibly receive both. As the *Banditi* will let paſs a ſingle Paſſenger, rather than by aſſaulting him miſs the Booty of a whole *Caravan*. In which caſes their Honeſty proceeds *à metu, non moribus*. Nor is there any thing more frequent, than to ſee the wickedeſt of men highly to act Religion;

Zeal ſtands but Centry at the Gate of Sin,
Whilſt all that have the Word paſs freely in.

Thus in our late Civil Wars, all the Villany which the Godly Party (as they nam'd themſelves) committed, was by them call'd *the Work of the Lord*; and that Curſe which the Scripture pronounces againſt them that do the Work of the Lord negligently, they pronounced againſt all ſuch as refuſed to aſſiſt them in cutting off their Sovereign's Head. So the *Anabaptiſts* of *Germany* choſe rather to wreſt the Senſe of God's holy Word, than want a Text to juſtifie the Evil they committed: For in the minority of their Power, they had alway in their mouths that humble Sentence of our Saviour's, *If men*

strike you on one cheek, turn the other; if they take your Cloak, give them your Coat also. But when they were grown an hundred thousand strong, then they fell to doing the Work of the Lord diligently, (as they called it) making Use of another of Christ's sayings. *Blessed are the meek.* (meaning themselves) *for they shall inherit the Earth*; and thus singing to the Lord a new Song, they p'under'd all *Germany*. Now these are they who do the greatest mischief to Religion: These are they whom the Lord *Bacon* calls the greatest Atheists, for that they are ever handling Holy things without feeling; and these are they that in a perverted sense, fulfil that saying of the Scriptures, *Godliness is great gain*: For by reason of their Impiety, seeing they can expect to receive little Benefit from our Saviour in the next World, they resolve to make what advantage they can of him in this. Like Jugglers, they carry only their coal of zeal in their Mouths, not being heated themselves, with what they go about to inflame others. But as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man, so the near resemblance that Hypocrisie bears to Religion, renders it the more deformed. By which you may see, how little we can judge of Religion by outward appearance. Now in such like cases, when the searcher of Hearts affists them in this Life, we, who see the outside only, do foolishly question Divine Justice, qu

XXXVIII.

Another Reply which the Philoſophers made to the aforeſaid Objection, was this; That admitting the Vertues which Men ſo highly extol, were not hypocritical, but incarneſt, yet (ſay the Philoſophers) for ought we know, they are not in the ballance of Nature, of ſuch weight and value as Men eſteem them; but that it may fare with them, as Coyn made of Copper or Leather, which though by Proclamation it goes at a high rate in one Country, it will not do ſo in another, for want of intrinſick Value. A wiſe *Roman* did not gueſs much amiſs at the gifts that were moſt prevalent with Heaven, when he declar'd to the Senate, *Non votis neque ſupplicationibus muliebribus auxilia Deorum parantur. Vigilando, Agendo, bene conſulendo proſperè omnia cedunt. Ubi ſocordiæ tete, atque ignaviæ tradideris, neq; æquam Deos implores.* By which excellent words he ſeems to mark out two above all other qualities of Mankind, as the moſt prevalent with God to obtain his Bleſſing, *viz.* Wiſdom and Induſtry; for without Wiſdom, Induſtry is but Labour in vain; and without Induſtry, Wiſdom is but a bare thinking; and thoughts, though never ſo wiſe, unleſs put in execution, are but Dreams, which produce no real effect. Therefore when *Æſop's* Clown having his Cart overthrown, deſired aid of *Hercules*, to ſet it upright again; the Dæmon bids him ſet his

shoulders to the Wheel, and lift at it, and then mooh might be done. Also to the same purpose *Lucian* tells us, that *Jupiter* being often troubled with the impertinent Requests and Petitions of Princes, and Generals on both sides for Victory; to prevent any further Trouble of that kind, hath for the future decreed, That when ever Two Armies meet, the greater number shall overcome the smaller, provided the Conduct, Discipline, and Courage of both be the same. Furthermore, say the Heathen, if you observe the several kinds of misery among Men, and the Causes from which they proceed, you shall for the most part find the want of Wisdom, Industry, or both, to have been the cause. As for instance, when Men are taken with horrid Diseases, they usually come from an excess in eating or drinking, or from such things as with a careful observation, they might easily have perceived to be disagreeable with their health. Some are put to death for siding with a weak Faction; others are beggar'd by Gaming, and spending beyond their Revenue, or by not keeping a vigilant eye over it, but leaving the managery thereof to careless or false Servants. Again, others have been ruined by being bound for their dear Brethren over a Glass of Wine: Among these may be reckoned Princes, who are ever ruined by their Favourites, unless the Prince has the good fortune to ruine them first, bring, like *Absyrtus*,

subject

subject to be slain by their own Hounds. These and a million of other follies produce the ruine of most men, who still owe their fall to want of Wisdom: Insomuch, as the Ancients had an opinion, that the Gods before they brought any calamity upon a man, would first unwit him, as to some particular occasion, and then punish his oversight; *Perdere quos vult Jupiter, hos prius dementat.* Whereupon, when Persons esteem'd pious and good natur'd, are upon these or the like Errours cast into Prisons, or other misfortunes, the fearless at another time the like may befall us, breeds a compassion which takes more notice of the misery, than the folly which occasion'd it. Hereto some may rejoyn, That they have observed several that for the greatest part of their Lives have been unblest, and poor, who by their Neighbours have been ever esteem'd pious, industrious, and of good Understanding. To which it is answered, It doth not often happen to be so: But whensoever so it doth so fall out, if we narrowly mark their courses of life, it will not be difficult to perceive some notable foolish errours, which like Maw-worms destroy a man without any great outward appearance of Evil. Or else peradventure if they would enter scrutiny with their own hearts, they might find they had relied upon themselves or others, more than upon that Almighty goodness, which made

fo[illegible]dul and

and preſerves all things, being the only Root of all Profperity; who by this deſertion, having as much as in them lies, cut themſelves off from that Root of Divine Providence, they become like Boughs ſet in a Chimney, which ſoon wither: And laſt of all, (ſay they) if Sickneſſes and Afflictions are ſent us becauſe of our Sins, what makes Brutes ſubject to the ſame?

Theſe are the chief Arguments that I find any where recorded by the Heathens, in defence of their wicked Opinions, which are anſwered by the impulſes of every Man's own Heart; for the belief of a future ſtate is implanted in every ones Nature, and this appears as well by the progreſs of Idolatry and Superſtition, as of the true Religion: For no Religion of what kind ſoever, whether falſe or true, could have gotten ſo general a poſſeſſion in the Hearts of Men, or have been ſo long entertained in the World, had there not been in Nature ſome ſenſe of a future Being, which hath from the beginning made the generality of Men ſo apt to receive Religious Inſtructions of any kind whatſoever, without which Foundation to work on, even *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, and *Numa* might ſoon have abrogated their own Laws in deſpair.

XXXIX.

But to proceed, without any relation to the Soul's future account, I find by some of the wiſeſt of the Ancients, that they thought they could never have too high an opinion of God's goodneſs; or too baſe of Man's wickedneſs; whoſe Vices nevertheleſs (ſince Nature doth nothing in vain (they eſteem'd not altogether unneceſſary to the well-governing of Mankind: For, ſays one of them, 'If from Hiſtory or Experience, you 'but obſerve any one Age, you ſhall find it 'hath much the reſemblance of a well-'wrought piece of Tapeſtry, wherein is re-'preſented ſome great Action, as a Battel, 'which muſt not wholly conſiſt of Generals 'or Commanders, but alſo of many com-'mon Souldiers; ſome cutting of Throats, 'others ſlain or wounded, and trampled un-'der Horſes Feet: And yet notwithſtanding, theſe miſerable Wretches, nay, and the very Horſes too, are as skilfully wrought, and made of as good Silk as the Generals themſelves: But the Truth and Harmony of the 'Story requires this great inequality of Parti-'culars; whoſe condition is fram'd with 'ſuch regard to them, as may beſt ſerve to 'compleat the whole. Therefore (ſays he) 'in weighing the ſeeming unequal condi-'tions of Men in this Life, it betrays a narrow-'neſs of Fancy, as well as Injuſtice, to judge 'of their Atomlike Merits or Demerits apart

'from

'from the Universe, wherein they have their 'portion. And much to this Purpose *Arnobius* speaks.

XL.

Now to recollect and conclude these Observations, I cannot but wonder that the Heathens (who being directed only by the Light of Nature, and not acknowledging any future Reward or Punishment,) should be endowed with such Piety and Veneration toward God, as in all their Writings it appears they had, whose Providence though they doubted for the life to come, yet they plainly perceived in this, and Intituled him *Deus Optimus Maximus*. Some indeed when they mentioned him, chose rather to use the word *Numen*, than *Deus*, as unwilling to make him either Male or Female like one of themselves, for they reverd him as the Sole, Infinite, Eternal Preserver of all things.

XLI.

As for the manner of their Worship, and the places wherein they celebrated their Heathenish Rites and Ceremonies, that being a Subject unnecessary in this Discourse to trouble you with; I shall only give you this short Account of it, which I find already collected to my Hands by *Cornelius Agrippa*. that Learned Satyrist *De Vanit. Scient.* 'As for the Gentiles,

(saith

'(saith he,) there were some very eminent
'for the Structures of their Temples; but
'others there were who never made use of
'any: Of which number was *Xerxes*, who
'is reported to have Burnt all the Temples
'about *Asia*, at the Request of his Magi-
'cians, esteeming it no less than Impiety
'to inclose the Gods in Walls. To the
'same purpose *Zeno Citticus* disputed in
'these Words: To build Churches and
'Temples (saith he) is no way necessary,
'for nothing ought to be accounted Sacred
'by right, or esteemed Holy, which Men
'themselves erect; neither among the *Per-*
'*sians* of old, nor among the Primitive *He-*
'*brews*, were there any Temples Dedicated
'to Divine Service, till at last one was
'Founded by *Solomon*, in which if any
'think God can be included, he is repro-
'ved by the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Heaven is*
'*my Throne, the Earth my Foot-Stool, there-*
'*fore what is the House thou buildest for me?*
'And *Stephen* the Protomartyr adds, *Solo-*
'*mon built an House, but the most High inha-*
'*bits not in places made with Hands.* Al-
'so Saint *Paul* himself exhorts the *Athe-*
'*nians* to the same effect, telling them
'that God dwells not in Temples made
'with Hands, for being the Lord of Hea-
'ven and Earth, he is not served by
'Mens hands, he wants not their help.
'Further-

Furthermore, *Origen* in his Writings against *Celsus*, saith, that for a long time after Christ's Death, there were no Churches built; and so far goes *Agrippa*. But I conceive, that however the Pagans did some of them refrain from erecting Temples out of Superstition, yet the Primitive Christians did it upon another account, *viz.* the Persecutions wherewith they were then oppressed. But afterward, when they had gotten Kings for their Nursing-Fathers, and Queens for their Nursing-Mothers, to favour their Righteous Cause, they either erected publick Houses commodious for Devotion, or converted those Magnificent Structures, the Stately Temples Dedicated to *Juno*, *Venus*, *Apollo*, with the rest of their Gods and Goddesses, to the Service of the true God: And indeed most of the Christian Churches, (as the Musk-melon from the Dunghil,) were raised out of the filthy Corruption and Superstition of Paganism.

XLII.

The next thing I shall touch upon, is the Politick Institution of the Heathen Ceremonies in times of their Publick Devotion. There is nothing hath a greater Influence over the Generality of Men, (especially the Vulgar,) than their Passions, and over their Passions, than Ceremonies, which have a great Influence upon their minds.

minds. What is the pleasure of a Lord Mayor's Show, Horse-Race, Play, or the like, but only the Pomp and Solemnities wherewith they are attended? Who would be ambitious of seeing the Lord Mayor without any Attendants? Of seeing Two Horses run against one another, with no other Company but the Grooms that ride them? Would any Person give Money, and stay in a Croud for three or four hours together with empty Stomachs, to see any of these Sights? Or would a Man rise at Four of the Clock in a Winter's Morning, riding Seven or Eight Hours together in the cold, for the uncertain expectation of seeing Nine or Ten couple of Dogs, run barking after a Fox, without any other Company than theirs? Who would buy such small pleasures at so dear a rate, were they not attended with other Ceremonies? and yet as they are now performed, we see people almost mad upon them. Which shews how prodigious an Influence they have over our Affections in all kind of Pleasures. Nor are they less prevalent in matters of Grief and Affliction, as well for the expelling as heightening of it. All thoughts of the future Cares and Inconveniences of a Married Life, are drown'd in the Sack-posset, and for that time banished by the Ceremony of Company, Feasting and Musick, which are but the gilding of the Pill. Also in Death, what

makes

makes it so terrible, (but as the Lord *Bacon* well observes,) the Solemnity of Friends weeping and mourning about the Death-bed: According to that saying, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa.* Now this being observed by the Ancient Lawgivers, (*viz.* how great an Influence such Pageantries have over the Minds of Men) it made them under pretence of decency of Worship, introduce all those vain superstitious Rites wherewith their Devotion was fill'd. Thus *Numa Pompilius* first instituted Ceremonies among the *Romans*, thereby to induce a rude, barbarous People, that had acquired a Kingdom by Violence, to the love of Piety, Justice and Religion. Thus he erected the Order of Vestal Virgins to preserve the Fire in the Temple, and to do Sacrifice to the Goddess *Vesta*. Also he instituted Twelve Men of an Order called the *Salii*, who in painted Garments, were to sing Verses in praise of God *Mars*. Besides other Priests call'd *Feciales*, who were to punish Offenders, and sacrifice unto the Goddess *Bona Dea*. And the like course were the rest of the Law-givers fain to take in other Countries, and all little enough to uphold their Superstitions. Whereas true Religion, like true Beauty, appears best in an undress; and so doth Christianity, especially the Reformed Religion. But the ancient Heathenism, and Mahumetanism, are all one Broth,

Broth, as the *Italian* Proverb expresses it. Both of Humane Invention, and disparaged with like Absurdities. Yet let us not in shunning *Charybdis*, fall into *Scylla*, and for fear of Idolatry, shew our ill Breeding in Divine Worship; a crime whereof too many are guilty, who pay much greater respect to their Landlord, than their God.

XLIII.

But to hasten to a Conclusion; Many of them were not a little over-aw'd by that old Verse of *Ennius*, *Desine fata Deum flecti sperare precando*: And this more evidently appears from these sacred Lines of *Juvenal* to the same purpose.

Nil ergo optabunt homines? si consilium vis,
Permittes ipsis expendere Numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris.
Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæq; dabunt Dii.
Charior est illis homo quam sibi. Nos animorum.
Impulsu, & cæca magnaq; cupidine ducti,
Conjugium petimus, partumque Uxoris: at illis
Notum qui Pueri, qualisq; futura sit Uxor.

Juven. Sat. 10

And in another Place,

——————*Nocitura petuntur.*

By

By which we may see, that the Devotion of all them, did not consist much in Prayers, further than *Thy Will be done*; and that rather by way of Acquiescence, than Petition: But all other enlargement of Request they declined, partly because they thought not the Deity flexanimous, to be won by intreaty, or bribed by Sacrifice; and partly, because they held it a Presumption in Man, to direct God what to do, and what to forbear, thinking that such a boldness would be but slenderly excused, by an additional clause of submission to his Will. And this made *Cardan* (who favour'd the worst Opinions of the Heathens) to symbolize with them in this; *Deum non flecti precibus, esset enim quasi unus è nobis, passionibus & doloribus obnoxius.* But certainly no Christian can write or speak in behalf of this Opinion, without his Conscience flying in his Face. For what can be greater relief to a Man, and comfort to him in affliction, than to have a God to flee to in his distress? The greatest ease in sorrow, is to have a Friend to break our mind to; and if so, how much greater relief and satisfaction must it be to an afflicted Man, to have a God who is so well able to counsel, direct and assist him, for his Friend, to communicate his case to? And therefore saith *Tertullian*. A Christian while he is at his Prayers, with his Hands lift up to God, is unsensible of all Punishment. Besides, the very

very thoughts that we have a Providence at all times to flee to, animates us with a new Spirit of boldneſs and reſolution, which is no ſmall aſſiſtant to our ſucceſs: As for example, Take a Dog and mark what courage he aſſumes when he finds himſelf maintain'd by a Man, who (as my Lord *Bacon* ſaith) is to him as a God, or *Melior Natura*. And of the ſame Uſe is Confidence in God, for it animates us with that aſſurance as ever renders us ſucceſsful. Neither were the Heathens (I mean the beſt and wiſeſt of them) againſt all manner of Prayer, as we may learn from that Verſe of the Poet;

Orandum eſt ut ſit mens ſana in corpore ſano.

But the chief and moſt commendable part of their Piety, conſiſted in a toral and willing Reſignation of themſelves and their Concerns, unto that infinite Majeſty, Almighty and All-wiſe Goodneſs, whereof they had continual experience.

Quin damus id ſuperis ——— ——
Compoſitum jus, faſque animo, ſanctoſque receſſus
Mentis & incoctum generoſo pectus honeſto.
Perſ. Sat.

They conceiv'd, if they ſhould preſume to ſearch

search into the Soul's future Estate, the knowledge whereof they thought God had reserved to himself, they should speed like *Ixion*, who making it his Request to lie with *Juno*, found himself deceiv'd, having in his Embraces only an empty Cloud. As for their apprehensions of Death, it appears, many of them were more fearful of Dying, than of being dead: Like one that fears to draw his Tooth, yet wishes it was drawn. And to this purpose *Cicero* speaks in his *Tusculan* Questions, *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil existimo.* Alleadging this reason for his Opinion, *Cur mortem malum tibi videri dicis, quæ aut beatos nos efficiet animis manentibus, aut non miseros sensu carentes?* But this is a very fallacious Argument, which supposes our Souls must be either happy or senseless; the reason is obvious. Therefore others of them gave a more ingenious account, why they so little fear'd death, which was this: They look'd upon themselves to be like Dogs, who having a loving Master, and hearing him call them forth, immediately with chearfulness leave the House, and follow him, not distrusting the goodness of that Master, who had ever before used them so kindly, still expecting the like Entertainment, although they knew not what it should be. Thus did they esteem death to be God's call unto them, to come out of this mortal Body; which they obey'd with

with much assurance of the Divine goodness, that had kept and provided for them all their Lives long. And as at their Entrance into this Life, God had not made them capable of knowing how he would here provide for them, and yet they found by Experience he did; so they hoped it would fare with them in their Future condition, although in some new way whereof they had not yet any experimental knowledge. The sum of which Opinion is deliver'd in this Copy of Verses.

Pulsa malis Anima, & nequiens fulcire Ruinam,
Imperiis excussa suis, sibi consulit Exul:
Libertate datâ redeuntibus in sua Regna,
Congenerûm res quæque sibi consortia quærit,
Blandaque deseritur vitæ discorsque Tyrannis.
Ut Jubar exclusum sædo cui illuxerat Antro
In Solem resilit, per quem vibratur in Orbem;
Sic tandem rediens divinæ particula Auræ,
Progeniem factura novam cum Numine furtur,
Irrequiesque alia ex aliis in fata vocatur.
Ast Infinitus Deus omnia in omnibus Unus
Induit in formas sese quasi Proteus omnes.

Æternoque æterna manent ſua membra, perit, nil,
Sed ſit per veteres Mundo nova Scena Tragœdos.
Nos pauca anguſti ſapimus, noſtratia tantùm
Experti; reliquis ſua cur ſenſoria rebus
Remur abeſſe, quibus pateat nova gloria Mundi.
Exibo intrepidè; Canis ut Venaticus, intùs
Agnoſcens Domini vocem, qui protinùs illum
Evocat in campos; ſomnoque Domoque relictis,
Aſſilit excurritque alacris: ſic Te, Pater Alme,
Expertus fidenſque ſequar. Quò duxeris ibo.
Pythagoras Moriens.

And this was the Faith of the moſt vertuous and prudent of the Heathens concerning Death. But others being neither thus wiſe, nor thus good, were either tranſported with ſome vain Sect of Philoſophy, or elſe weakly ſurrendred all their Reaſons to the deluſion of their Prieſts; who notwithſtanding their fictitious Pretences, knew no more of Heaven, than the meaneſt of the People, as it evidently appears to any one, that ſhall compare their Devotion with Chriſtianity. But their Philoſophers, without any pretence of Inſpirations extraordinary, adventur'd to addreſs their Doctrines to humane Reaſon, as aiming altogether at vain-glory; whoſe Arguments muſt needs ſeem ſo empty and irrational to all diſcerning Judgments,

Judgments, that instead of becoming glorious, they rendred themselves ridiculous. And thus, such as would not modestly repose themselves in the ignorance of the Soul's future state, which God had been pleas'd for the most part to conceal from them, became vain in their Imaginations, distracted between Philosophy on the one side, and Superstition on the other: And so had only this choice, whether they would be cheated by themselves, or other Men.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus.